This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 07137838 8

MEMOIRS OF BARRAS

VOLUME II

THE DIRECTORATE UP TO THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR

THE ASTOR LIBRARY
NY

BARRAS

In the Costume of a Director. (Year VII.—1799.)

Drawn by H. Le Dru (Bibliothèque Nationale—Collection of Prints).

MEMOIRS OF BARRAS

MEMBER OF THE DIRECTORATE

EDITED, WITH A GENERAL
INTRODUCTION, PREFACES
AND APPENDICES, BY
GEORGE DURUY

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS IN PHOTOGRAVURE
TWO FAC-SIMILES, AND TWO PLANS

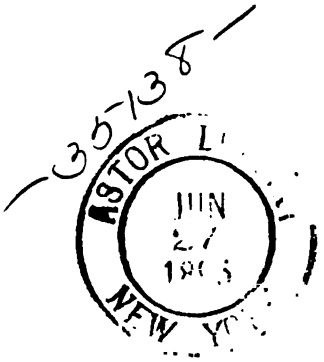
"Les pamphlétaires, je suis destiné à être leur pâture, mais je redoute peu d'être leur victime: ils mordront sur du granit." — NAPOLÉON

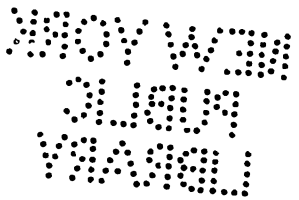
IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. II.—THE DIRECTORATE UP TO
THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR

TRANSLATED BY C. E. ROCHE

NEW YORK
HARPER & BROTHERS FRANKLIN SQUARE
1895





Copyright, 1895, by HARPER & BROTHERS.

All rights reserved.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
CHAPTER I	1
CHAPTER II	16
CHAPTER III	38
CHAPTER IV	49
CHAPTER V	90
CHAPTER VI	106
CHAPTER VII	130
CHAPTER VIII	148
CHAPTER IX	158
CHAPTER X	166
CHAPTER XI	175
CHAPTER XII	190
CHAPTER XIII	204
CHAPTER XIV	213
CHAPTER XV	226
CHAPTER XVI	240
CHAPTER XVII	256

PAGE

CHAPTER XVIII 273

CHAPTER XIX 299

CHAPTER XX 321

CHAPTER XXI 343

CHAPTER XXII 369

CHAPTER XXIII 390

CHAPTER XXIV 402

CHAPTER XXV 419

CHAPTER XXVI 445

CHAPTER XXVII 473

CHAPTER XXVIII 489

CHAPTER XXIX 504

CHAPTER XXX 530

CHAPTER XXXI 557

CHAPTER XXXII 574

CHAPTER XXXIII 587

ILLUSTRATIONS

BARRAS . . . . . *Frontispiece*

JOSEPHINE . . . . . *Facing p.* 66

PREFACE

THE second volume of the Memoirs of Barras comprises the history of the home and foreign policy of the Directorate, from the installation of the government born of the Constitution of the Year III. (22d August, 1795) to the *coup d'État* of the 18th Fructidor, Year V. (4th September, 1797).

The volume about to be perused is composed of two elements, which, although really distinct, the editor has not seen fit to deal with separately, leaving them, on the contrary, constantly amalgamated:

1. A series of analytical summaries of the sittings of the Directorate.

2. A series of anecdotes, comments, and opinions on contemporary personages or occurrences.

We have thought proper to adopt a typographical disposition which, without altering the text in the slightest degree, or in any way remodelling the composition of the work, affords the reader the faculty of at once realizing which of the two elements is represented in the page under his notice.

We therefore publish in *small type* the summaries of the sittings of the Directorate and all passages akin to them from the somewhat dry precision of the narration. We have printed in *ordinary type* those portions—numerous and important, as it will be seen — wherein the Memoirs resume the briefly interrupted course of the personal recollections of Barras.

I. — THE ANALYTICAL SUMMARIES OF THE SITTINGS OF THE DIRECTORATE, AND THEIR HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.

These analytical summaries have been composed from notes taken by Barras on leaving every sitting of the Directorate.

> Assiduous at our sittings from the first to the last, I hardly ever left without having jotted down some notes about our ordinary labors. Imbued with the idea that a functionary invested with so high a mandate as ours owed his fellow-citizens a moral as well as a material account of his stewardship, I have ever looked upon myself as an accountant in the presence of his natural comptrollers, and I did not wish my accounting to fall behind for a single day.[1]

There cannot exist any possible doubt as to the sincerity of the explanations the editor of the Memoirs gives us in the foregoing passage as to the origin of these summaries. M. de Saint-Albin has limited his labors to simply transcribing the very notes of Barras. A certain number of these autographic notes still exist. I have carefully compared those I have been able to find with the corresponding passages of Vol. II. of the Memoirs. They have been reproduced with such scrupulous fidelity that it has seemed to me unnecessary to publish the text as an appendix, as it adds absolutely nothing to the editing of M. de Saint-Albin. In this instance, no longer are there any of those literary ornaments, any of those "embellishments" with which the collaborateur of Barras had seen fit—as shown in connection with the visit to the Temple[2] — to adorn the habitual dryness of his friend's style. They form genuine official reports, such as drawn up by Barras after each of the sittings of the government of which he was a member.

But this historical matter, transmitted to us in all its nakedness and aridity, will not be considered unworthy of attention by those readers who, even though not historians by profession, take an interest in this period of our history.

[1] This passage is taken from Chapter I.

[2] See Vol. I., General Introduction, pp. xii.-xv.

At first sight the perusal of these summaries will seem somewhat monotonous, registering as they do without any development, without any concern for literary composition, the particulars of the political work accomplished daily by that strange executive power with five heads. Yield not to this first impression, continue reading, and suddenly you will begin to feel interested. These tedious reports become endowed with life, and gradually assume a significance and bearing at first hardly suspected. You discover a usefulness, nay, even a charm, in the innumerable scraps of information, badly grouped as to order, but precise, exact, and truthful in the disorder and aridity, with which they furnish you as to the home and foreign policy of the Directorate. This Government lives under your very eyes; you penetrate the secret of its weaknesses, dissensions, and petty inner rivalries. You are a witness of the singular evolution which makes of the former member of the Committee of Public Safety, of the fiery and determined terrorist, Carnot, the representative and defender of ideas of moderation in the bosom of the Directorate. An unexpected metamorphosis, filling Barras, who has remained a Jacobin, with indignation, and which, as it will be seen, furnishes him with plenty of material for emitting perfidious insinuations against his colleague.

Little by little the clearly-limned picture of a government, at one and the same time violent and weak, disengages itself from the mass of these small facts; the picture of a country a prey to anarchy, and wherein the Republican institution falls into deeper discredit day by day; the picture of a disenchanted nation, which has outlived the enthusiasm of by-gone days, dissatisfied with the present, uneasy as to the future, and filled with contempt for its government; the picture of armies whose strong discipline is on the wane, and wherein other thoughts than salvation of the Fatherland now haunt the minds of both soldiers and officers, and over whom is already passing a blast of *pronunciamento*, warning us of the coming of Brumaire.

Hence it will be seen that these analytical summaries

are something more than a mere collection of miscellaneous news, that they constitute an important contribution to the history of the Directorial period, and that those minds which are pleased at finding in works submitted to them subject-matter for general ideas and the elements of a broad and philosophic view of men and events, will derive ample satisfaction from them. As for myself, I consider that these reports of the sittings of the Directorate, which form about one-third of the second volume, give to the Memoirs of Barras an historical importance and a documentary value they would not possess were they solely the more or less truthful expression of the personal feelings of rancor of the ex-Director against the various personages he in turn drags through the mud, as in the case of Joséphine and Napoleon.

II. — THE PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF BARRAS AND THE INTEREST ATTACHED TO THEM—TALLEYRAND, JOSÉPHINE'S MARRIAGE, MME. TALLIEN, AND MME. DE STAËL.

Personal recollections, anecdotal history, and libels make up the remaining thirds of the present volume.

Those persons who are fond of memoirs for reasons to which a taste for history is foreign—to speak plainly, the great majority of the public—are perhaps already in a state of alarm over the indications just given by me as to the *too* exclusively historic character of a portion of Vol. II. of the Memoirs of Barras. Let them not be uneasy! All who find pleasure in gossip, who revel in the seamy side of history and in ticklish "revelations"; all who love slander to the point of enjoying it, even when it points its shafts at the dead, will find rich pasturage in these pages. Barras speaks in them of his contemporaries, male and female, just about as we speak of ours in a drawing-room—which is tantamount to saying that he indulges in the most scandalous remarks about them.

When his malignity expends itself on personages such as Talleyrand or Fouché, it is, I confess, rather difficult to feel any indignation over it. It is truly edifying to see

those two princes of falsehood, perfidy, and treachery, those two great corrupt men, attacked tooth and nail by another corrupt one. 'Tis the punishment of vice; little does it matter that it is not virtue but vice itself which lays on the lash. A beautiful spectacle is that of Barras giving a good dressing to Talleyrand in the name of morality. What a rare treat for us to see these two cynical personages mutually denounce each other to the contempt of posterity! What delicious irony lies in the fact that these two sworn enemies of the emperor—one of whom, the Prince of Benevento, has betrayed Napoleon, and the other, Barras, has calumniated him with persistency — were simultaneously writing memoirs, avenging the great man of both defamer and traitor, of both Barras and Talleyrand, and of Fouché to boot! Who is there to bear Barras spite for having added in his sketch a few new traits, some of which at least have a semblance of truth, to what was already known of Talleyrand's moral hideousness? And who will not be grateful to Talleyrand for having revealed to us in a narrative guarded in tone and discreetly worded, albeit terribly significant, it would seem, the extent of the infamy of Barras's morals?[1] Men like these have lost all claim to pity when insult is heaped on their justly disreputable memory. I defy anybody to succeed in calumniating either Barras by imputing to him any crime whatsoever of corruption, or Talleyrand by charging him with having extended the boundaries of intrigue and cupidity. And if the pages breathing hate consecrated by Barras to Talleyrand[2] have all the airs of a libel, one does not, when reading them, feel rise from the depths of one's conscience the protest which the sight of an iniquity calls forth.

This does not apply to the pages wherein he once more renews his attack—this time no longer with simple epi-

[1] See the Memoirs of Talleyrand, Vol. I., pp. 250–252. Talleyrand asserts further on (p. 273) that Barras was morally an accomplice of the 18th Brumaire, which is assuredly piquant.

[2] See especially Chapters XXX. and XXXI., and M. Emile Ollivier's article on Talleyrand in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15th September, 1894.

grams and studied implications, as in Chapter XXI. of the first volume, but with a truly sickening coarseness against the unfortunate Joséphine. There the Memoirs of Barras brutally harrow in us the sentiment of the most elementary delicacy; and I venture to hope that the taste for gossip will not, in the mind itself of those afflicted with this moral infirmity, prevail over the reprobation such slanders must evoke.

It is in the preceding volume that will be found the first indication of the idea which the author of the Memoirs takes up again and develops here with complacency. As early as the siege of Toulon, Bonaparte is introduced to us as a man who, to make use of an expression as low as the mind itself of Barras, seeks "to make his way through the influence of women." Such as the youthful artillery commandant showed himself in those days in the interested attentions he was so prodigal of towards the wife of the representative Riçord, such do we find him after Vendémiaire towards the widow of Alexandre de Beauharnais. If indeed he marries her, it is not because the charms and grace of Joséphine—that languid grace of the rose whose bloom is beginning to fade, of which Frédéric Masson has given us so subtle an analysis—has awakened in that fiery soul an imperious feeling wholly invading it to a degree that is nevermore to disappear, and that through all the crises of his tragic existence, in spite of weariness, acts of infidelity, divorce, his second marriage—in spite of all, Napoleon will love this woman unto death. No, it is not from love, but from ambition. And this calculation is all the more vile from the fact that to Bonaparte nothing of Joséphine's past is a sealed book. He takes his wife at the hands of Barras, knowing that Barras has been, and is perhaps still, the lover of this so easily consoled widow. And when he departs to assume the command of the Army of Italy, it is to Barras that, an accommodating husband, he intrusts her. . . . I beg the reader's forgiveness for dwelling on such nastiness. Still, it was necessary to do so, if only to express the disgust with which it fills me.

I have already stated that, having once clearly established the libellous character of the Memoirs of Barras, I did not consider myself bound to discuss henceforth each one of the calumnies his prolific hatred invents against Napoleon. But this one is of such a nature that I must needs confute it as it crosses my path.

I note, therefore, that the venomous Chapter IV., wherein are narrated Bonaparte's first love of and marriage to Joséphine, presents in regard to the essential feature — to wit, the knowledge Bonaparte is alleged to have had, according to Barras, of the love-affairs of the woman he was about to make his wife—an enormous contradiction. In a passage of this chapter Barras censures Bonaparte for having brought his future wife to the Directorate at a time when "he could not think that his (Barras's) connection with her was at an end." I need not dwell on the ignominious conclusions against Bonaparte drawn from the truth and from the falsehood he has just uttered—the very man who, with a lack of conscience truly astounding, dares on this very occasion to speak to us of his sentiments of "French chivalry"!

Unfortunately, the but too faithful interpreter of Barras's thoughts, the interpreter who has throughout this chapter—I have on this point the testimony of M. Paul Grand — reproduced a series of anecdotes which Barras delighted in telling to the last day of his life, has forgotten what he has asserted previously, to the effect that Bonaparte, "roué" as he was, considered Joséphine "an angel of truth and purity." And so complete was this faith in her, indeed so absolute, that he was desirous—this semi-savage young Corsican, new as he was then to love-matters and feminine coquetry and craftiness—of demanding satisfaction of Barras for certain too gallant compliments paid by him to Mme. de Beauharnais. 'Tis the same chapter of the Memoirs which, through some singular and fortunate inadvertence, gives us these valuable particulars in regard to Bonaparte's feelings towards Joséphine just as he is about to make her his wife. How are these traits to be reconciled with the charge brought against Bona-

parte of having married from motives of ambition, and of having throughout the matter played the part of a man who, knowing all, tolerates all; the thing is impossible.

Were the proof of the falseness of this shameful imputation as furnished by the Memoirs themselves not peremptory, I refer the reader, considering himself insufficiently enlightened by the simple and decisive juxtaposition of the two passages, to the *Lettres de Napoléon à Joséphine*.[1] In this volume are to be found the authentic letters of Bonaparte to the woman he has just married. I will content myself with asking any candid man who will have read these letters, if it was not the truest, the deepest love which dictated to the one who wrote them between battles these beautiful and burning pages? True, Bonaparte may have later entertained doubts, suspicions as to Joséphine's virtue. And, indeed, it must be confessed that the indiscretions of this most charming, but also most frivolous, of women, furnished matter enough for grievous discoveries. Look at her portrait by Isabey, which dates precisely from that period. This bird-like head, all dishevelled, expresses coquetry, thoughtlessness, an undefinable frailty and inconsistency, characteristic perhaps even then, as it had been in the past, of her virtue. It is none the less a certainty that Bonaparte believed in her, and loved her ardently and blindly; that passion alone made him wish for and resolve upon this marriage; and that, if any one calculated in this affair, it might, if absolutely necessary, be Joséphine, but at all events it is not the man of genius desperately smitten, smitten "like a fool," who was dying with love at the feet of this pretty doll.

After reading the foregoing, it will not greatly surprise one to learn that Barras did not show any too great discretion in his confidences concerning another celebrated woman of those days. Undoubtedly, there will not be found in his utterances on Mme. Tallien the coarseness I have pointed out in those on Joséphine. But if he does

[1] Paris, Firmin Didot, 1833. See also Frédéric Masson's *Napoléon et les Femmes*, i. pp. 25-53.

not grossly insult Mme. Tallien, he takes good care to reveal to us in regard to his intimacy with her a great deal more than we ever wished him to tell us. And he does it brutally, with the ponderous conceit of the "lady-killer" boasting of his conquests. M. Paul Grand, who had remained faithful to the memory of his friend, but whose gentlemanly instincts had doubtless been chafed by certain vulgar traits he could not help but discover in his nature, told me that to the very last days of his life Barras had retained the taste for repeatedly boasting of his "successes" with women. So it is shown, alas! in the pages devoted to Mme. Tallien. We seem still to discern in the editing of M. de Saint-Albin, who repeats to us probably the very words he has over and over again heard from the lips of Barras, the voice of the incorrigible coxcomb, who consoles himself in his old age by evoking unto himself and imparting to others, with the smile of a conqueror and a remnant of flame in his eyes, the love-affairs of his far-off youth. I know not what will be the reader's impression. To speak plainly, I am afraid that the indiscretions of Barras in regard to Mme. Tallien will prove an exquisite treat. I must confess that such is not my taste, and that I have deeply taken to heart the baseness of the sentiments revealed by them.

I have felt, and to a still greater extent, the same inner disgust, when perusing the pages devoted by him to that noble Mme. de Staël, whose name should, it seems to me, be forever dear to us, because she suffered greatly and thought much. If in the case of Mme. Tallien it is sufficient that she should be a woman, and a woman only, in order that Barras should have committed a gross indelicacy in showing a lack of respect for her memory, what are we to think of the insinuations he indulges in, and of the malicious epigrams he hurls at the illustrious friend of Benjamin Constant? And yet he knew her; he had enjoyed the happiness, which I envy him, of seeing and hearing her. Was then his own soul too mediocre for him to gauge the nobility of hers? I think it difficult to explain otherwise his daring to jeer at her as he has

done. He saw in her naught but a woman, and has remembered only her weakness and what was open to ridicule in her character. Poor, silly, and vainglorious Don Juan! Just as if she were a woman like the common herd, the one whose suffering heart carried into the domain of sentiment all the anxieties, research, and ardors which her lofty and free intelligence brought, to her eternal honor, into the domain of thought. But who expects a Barras to feel such things, and to embrace in his miserable little soul so complex and so noble a moral being?

Farther on will be read the chapters wherein he gives free rein to his malignity against Mme. de Staël, with a species of comic raciness which attenuates somewhat the too evident malevolence of this amusing narration.

It will be noticed that he does not go to any great expense of imagination. The scene wherein for the third time Mme. de Staël enters the closet of the all-powerful Director to plead the cause of Talleyrand, who awaits in the street, ensconced in a coach, the result of her interview, *i.e.*, the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs coveted by him—this scene recalls another previously recorded; 'tis the one wherein Joséphine comes to solicit in the same closet—with a display of almost analogous means of persuasion—in favor of Bonaparte, who waits in an adjoining room. The only difference consists in a little more cynicism in one of the narratives; for the indecencies in the one in which Joséphine and Bonaparte are made to appear, are substituted insinuations against Mme. de Staël; the same tone of unendurable conceit; it is plain that the mind of Barras revels in themes of this kind, but that he does not take much trouble to give them the charm of novelty. Now the identity of the methods to which his slanderous instinct resorts in both instances, increases the legitimate distrust inspired by these two episodes of his long-spun-out libel.

Be this as it may, I would have liked, for reasons readily to be guessed, for it to have been possible for me to throw a veil over the impropriety of this passage of the Memoirs. Had I been able to suppress the name of the

woman so cruelly scoffed at, and substitute for it, as well as for that of Mme. Tallien, a discreet X——, as I have done in the case of persons of lesser note likewise harshly dealt with in these Memoirs, and to whose descendants I could, without detriment to history, show this most natural and simple consideration—I confess that it would have been with a strong feeling of relief. I solemnly assure all those who will perhaps take it unkindly of me for not having made in this insulting text alterations of which a praiseworthy sentiment will doubtless make them regret the absence. But how was this to be done? Mme. Tallien and Mme. de Staël belong to history, just as Joséphine—who is far more deeply insulted than they in these Memoirs of Barras. And if I have thought it incumbent upon me, owing to considerations superior even to my dearest personal inclinations towards courtesy, to leave full and free license to Barras to vent his malice against the wife of the emperor himself, was I to show myself more jealous of the fair fame of Mme. Tallien and Mme. de Staël than of that of Mme. de Beauharnais? Moreover, it is not, so far as I know, the austerity of their virtue which—any more than in the case of Joséphine—has given them the place they occupy in history. When publishing in their original form the passages of the Memoirs concerning them, I am teaching nobody that the heart of the celebrated woman, any more than that of the one illustrious, was nomadic. Does anybody believe that this recalling of sentimental experiments, which it is notorious both of them indulged in, is going to give scandal? Thank God, posterity knows not the pharisaism of certain forms of prudery; it is indulgent to the slight peccadilloes originating with love, especially when genius, grace, and beauty plead their cause. Of these two women, the one was endowed with regal beauty, the other with the most brilliant intellectual gifts. They sought happiness in love. . . . Peace to the charming spirit of the one who was lovely—and peace also to a greater extent to the spirit of the one, doubtless restless for eternity, who would perhaps have bartered all her talent, all her wit, for

the charms of the other! I could do no more—nay, it was not my duty to do any more—than censure Barras for having laid so brutal a hand on their memory. No one will be found, I think, to claim that I have in this regard been sparing of censure. And I likewise hope that the severity of my judgments on Barras will be attributed to a broader sentiment than the desire of indulging in reprisals against the defamer of Napoleon.

Having once resolved upon giving the Memoirs of Barras to the public, I had a duty to perform towards the man whose publisher I thus became by a strange freak of destiny. This duty consisted in giving to the reader Barras's own idea, *all* his idea, and *naught* but his idea. My conscience tells me that I have honestly fulfilled this duty.

But, from the very fact that I had so fulfilled it, I came to consider myself invested with the right of expressing myself in regard to this very man with the fullest independence. I have availed myself of this right, while constantly careful of exercising it equitably. Absolute justice not being of this world, I cannot flatter myself with having succeeded in guarding as completely as I would have wished against every feeling of secret hostility towards a personage whose sentiments, displayed throughout these Memoirs, have so often chafed mine. I hope credit will be given me for having at least attempted to be just, and that this effort will serve me as an excuse if some unfavorable prejudice against Barras, some spirit of rancor, from which I would have sincerely wished to free myself, has, unknown to me, found its way into my commentary of the Memoirs, here or in the first volume.

I have given credit to Barras for his activity, courage, and energy at the siege of Toulon. I have been careful to point out that if he participated in cruel revolutionary measures, he was none the less humane and even generous by nature; I have accused the unhappy times rather than his hardness of heart; and I have striven to throw light on everything proper to plead in defence of his memory. This done, I have also shown the corruption, the venality,

the conceit, the cynicism of the one whom Taine[1] calls "the most brazen-faced of rotten men." And I have spoken of his vices with a freedom all the greater in that I had with more studied impartiality pointed out all that which had, in the moral being of this great corrupt one, seemed to give him a claim to the indulgence of history.

Did my character as the editor of Barras impose on me any further obligation than to scrupulously respect his idea and seek to infuse a spirit of equity into my commentaries? Was I, for the sole reason that I was publishing Memoirs of which he had supplied the substance, to forego criticism when letting them see the light of day, deal with this historical matter as might have dealt with it an editor totally foreign to history, forbid myself from expressing my idea on the document which I am precisely giving up to the free controversy which has called for it for now over fifty years? Are one and all to enjoy the right of speaking well or ill of Barras and his Memoirs, except the one who presents the man and his work to the public?

Such a pretension does not hold good in my eyes. I leave the honest reader to sit in judgment on me, with the firm conviction that he will ratify the decision clearly dictated to me by my conscience.

GEORGE DURUY.

[1] Taine, *Régime moderne*, i., p. 15.

CHAPTER I

Organization of the Directorate—Formation of the Councils—List of candidates for the Directorate—Dupont de Nemours—His remark on the forty-five candidates—Reply of Baudin des Ardennes—The five directors—Siéyès resigns—Carnot—Cambacérès—Dispositions of the Directorate—Its sittings—A rendering of accounts—Rewbell president—Citizen Trouvé—Larevellière-Lépeaux—Composition of the Ministry—Merlin de Douai—Delacroix—Aubert-Dubayet—Bénézech—Truguet—Gaudin—His resignation—The Duc de Gaète—Duplantier—Plan of attack on the Directorate—The ideal of perfection in nominations—A proclamation; its promises—Réal draws it up—He is paid for it—Position of the Directorate—Absolute destitution—The infant Hercules—Franklin—Delicacy of the Directorate in the matter of its attributes—Formula of its messages—An odd contrast—"By the grace of God"—The order of the day on a serious question—Blockade of Belle-Ile—Organization of the Municipality of Paris—Three *milliards* (three thousand millions) asked for—It is refused by the Council—The use of moneys must be specified—Congress—Repeal of a law, proposed, denied, and subsequently passed—The three *milliards* granted—Success of the Toulon squadron—Paoli—Citizen Trouvé desirous of voting for the death of a king—His embassies—He becomes the executor of rigors of the conscription; later on, a devoted Royalist—The Directorate replaces him—Secretary-General Lagarde—M. Maret—The Duc de Bassano—Dissolution of the Committees—Law concerning deserters—Fréron denounced—MM. Julien, Méchin, and Martainville incarnate devils—General Leclerc—Pauline Bonaparte—Her *liaisons* with Fréron—Generals Brune and Leclerc—What becomes of the others—Martainville and the *Drapeau Blanc*—Miranda asks to be tried—The prisoners of Vendémiaire set free—The war in La Vendée—Hoche general-in-chief—His proclamation—Scarcity of provisions—Le Maître and his accomplices—Treaty of alliance of three great Powers—Jourdan

and Lefèbvre—Successes of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Bombardment of Mannheim and of Neuwied—Delicate position of the Directorate.

IT is time to come to the organization of the Directorate, the new Government which the nation awaited so impatiently.

Brumaire, Year IV.—On the 4th Brumaire the members of the National Convention re-elected by the people in accordance with the terms of the decrees of the 5th and 13th Fructidor, constituted themselves an electoral body for the purpose of forming the Two-Thirds which were to enter the legislative body. The members of the Convention decided by lot, according to the basis of the Constitution, as to who should enter the Council of Ancients and who that of the Five Hundred.

Two days later, on the 6th Brumaire, the deputies forming the Council of Five Hundred met provisionally in the Salle du Manége (riding-school); that of Ancients, at the Tuileries, in the hall of the Convention. Both Councils constituted themselves respectively deliberative assemblies, and informed each other of the fact by message. On the 8th Brumaire the Council of Five Hundred drew up a list of fifty candidates, from which were to be elected the five members who were to compose the Directorate. With the exception of the names of Siéyès, Larevellière, Letourneur, Rewbell, and Barras, the names on that list were entirely unknown. The deputies of the new Third, represented on this occasion by Dupont de Nemours, saw fit to make a remark that could not be gainsaid as to the obscurity of the forty-five names escorting, so to speak,

the more serious candidates one had in view, and Dupont (our friend) asked in consequence for time to procure information about them; but Baudin des Ardennes replied victoriously that the National Convention having displayed all possible eagerness, nay precipitation, in forming the legislative body, and the same zeal in establishing the executive Directorate, every hour of delay constituted a danger to the Republic. . . . A vote was taken, with the result that Larevellière-Lépeaux, Letourneur de la Manche, Rewbell, Siéyès, and Barras were elected. We all accepted, with the exception of Siéyès, and informed the Councils of our election. Owing to Siéyès's refusal, it became necessary to elect another member. The same formalities were observed by the Councils, and Carnot, placed on the list in competition with Cambacérès, was elected fifth director.

The five directors laid no claim to being men of genius; but we felt that we were men of strong mind and heart, tried in the perils of war and of the Revolution. "We are still able to face them," we said, and we swore to conquer or die.

I shall not tell what we did, or attempted to do, with the object of restoring to our country order, peace, and liberty—society's primary needs. Assiduous at our sittings from the first to the last, I hardly ever left without having jotted down some notes about our ordinary labors. Imbued with the idea that a functionary invested with so high a mandate as ours owed his fellow-citizens a moral as well as a material account of his stewardship, I have ever looked upon myself as an accountant in the presence of his natural comptrollers, and I

did not wish my accounting to fall behind for a single day.

There will necessarily result some little dryness from the very fidelity of this accounting rendered from my daily memoranda. They will perhaps be found somewhat too didactic; but such as they are, I consider them useful. I will merely add thereto a few reflections suggested by the personality of the directors, thus breaking, so to speak, the concatenation of ideas.

Sittings of the Directorate, Brumaire, Year IV

The first act of the Directorate was to elect its president, Rewbell, and its secretary-general, citizen Trouvé, nominated by Larevellière-Lépeaux.

The Ministry was composed of: Merlin, Justice; Lacroix, Foreign Affairs; Gaudin, Finances; Aubert-Dubayet, War; Bénézech, Interior; Truguet, Marine. All accepted with devotedness, excepting Gaudin; he was the friend of Siéyès, and considered he should follow in the steps of his file-leader. A Government as bold as ours was too strong for men of methodical and timid mould. Gaudin will feel more reassured when, after the 18th Brumaire, Siéyès will represent him at the head of affairs, and place him under the ægis of an absolute despot, whose eternal Minister he will remain till 1814, when the humble clerk of the Republic will take his rest with the title of duke in the directorate of the Bank of France.

No sooner had the Councils been installed than a newly elected member of the Five Hundred, one

Duplantier, seemed to busy himself with fulfilling the mission intrusted to him by his party, that of throwing discredit on the Directorate. As it was not possible for him to confess then and there that the Republican form of government was not to his taste, he placed in juxtaposition to the selections just made a nomenclature of other possible selections truly representing the ideal of perfection, as if the ideal were applicable to matters political.

After having informed the Councils by message that it was constituted, the Directorate considered that it should not delay entering upon relations of esteem and affection with the people it was called upon to govern, so we addressed a proclamation to the French nation. We promised the Republicans that their fate should never be separated from our own; that inflexible justice and the strictest observation of the laws of the country would ever be ours; we bound ourselves to wage an active war against royalism, revive patriotism, repulse all factions with a firm hand, stifle all party-spirit, annihilate every desire of revenge, establish a reign of concord, restore peace, regenerate manners, reopen the sources of production, revive trade and commerce, stifle jobbery, give fresh life to arts and sciences, re-establish plenty and public credit; lastly, to secure to the French Republic the happiness and glory she yearned for. Such is, we said, the task your legislators and the executive Directorate have set themselves: it will be the constant object of the thoughts and the solicitude of both.

This proclamation, which I was commissioned to

order from Réal, was drawn up by him, together with two others. He was paid *ten thousand francs* for it. Now what was the position of this Directorate which had no hesitancy in coming forward with such fine promises at the time it announced its establishment?

What apparatus, what strength, what means of execution were ours when embarking on such grand promises? The Directorate, on arriving at the Luxembourg to take up its quarters, did not possess a single guard, servant, table, chair, a single man at its service to transmit its orders, a sheet of paper whereon to write them. This was indeed the real cradle of infancy wherein the child is laid in all the nakedness of nature. And how numerous the serpents surrounding it! It needed the infant Hercules to struggle with so many enemies. The American people, at the time of the uncertain battles it was fighting on behalf of its independence, was named "the infant Hercules" by one of its most honorable citizens (Franklin). The French nation could likewise assume this name, when at the time of its regeneration it was struggling against so many enemies; it was for the Directorate to justify the assumption of the name.

The Directorate, scrupulous to the point of delicacy in regard to the limit of the attributes which might belong to each of the powers established by the Constitution, and with the firm intention of not overstepping nor enlarging upon the rights conferred on it by the Convention on men and matters, strictly adhered to each one of the articles of that Constitution to proceed with the appointments it had to make.

STATEMENT OF THE APPOINTMENTS TO BE MADE BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORATE CONSTITUTION OF THE 5TH FRUCTIDOR, YEAR III

Art. 143.—A secretary-general.

Art. 146.—The generals-in-chief.

Art. 148.—The ministers.

Art. 153.—The receiver of direct taxes for each department.

Art. 154.—The chief officials of the excise and of the administration of the national domains.

Art. 155.—All the public functionaries in the French colonies, except in the departments of the Ile de France and Réunion, until the conclusion of peace.

Art. 156.—The Directorate may be empowered by the legislative body to send to all French colonies, according to the demands of the case, one or more special agents appointed by it for a specified period.

Art. 170.—Four messengers of State.

Art. 191.—A commissary, to be attached to each departmental and municipal administration.

Art. 234.—A commissary of the executive power, to be attached to each tribunal dealing with misdemeanors.

Arts. 216 *and* 245.—A commissary of the executive power, to be attached to each civil and criminal tribunal, together with a deputy.

Art. 261.—A commissary and deputies, to be attached to the *Tribunal de Cassation* (Appellate Court).

Art. 313.—The officials intrusted with superintending the coining of money.

Art. 331.—The diplomatic agents to negotiate treaties and conventions on behalf of the French Republic.

After having drawn up the foregoing statement, the formula of our messages to the legislative body was thus settled: "The executive directorate, constituted according to the number of members specified by Art. 142 of the Constitution, enacts that the message, the tenor of which follows, shall be addressed to the Council." This formula, embodying another continual and renewed admission of the legal principle to which we owed our existence, may have seemed singular when placed in juxtaposition to those of the Governments of Europe and Asia, generally beginning, "By the grace of God."

After notifying the Councils of its installation, the Directorate asks them, by a message drawn up according to the terms above related, whether a Minister chosen from among the members of the legislative body would lose his character of representative of the people. This message, which is not unanimous, being judged useless, the order of the day is adopted.

11th Brumaire, Year IV.—At the opening of our sitting, on the 11th Brumaire, we are informed that the English squadron was blockading Belle-Ile; that the admiral having summoned the commandant to surrender, he had refused; that the enemy had landed, and the Republicans had killed 200 of their men and sunk two frigates.

The Directorate, beginning its labors, at once takes up and demands the organization of the department and municipality of Paris. Very soon, pressed by the urgent needs of the public service, it asks that three *milliards* be placed at its disposal. The Council of Ancients refuses, alleging as a reason that the Directorate has not submitted a statement of expenditure for

each Ministry. This idea of insisting on the specifying of the uses to which money was to be put was already consecrated.

Shortly afterwards we are informed that a congress has been convoked in Germany; that the subject before it is peace, on condition that everything that has been taken by the French from the States and the Empire shall be returned, and that matters shall revert to the *status quo ante bellum*.

A proposition is made to the Councils to recall the law excluding from France the relations of *émigrés* and the participators in the Vendémiaire insurrection. It is rejected. Later on it will be favorably entertained.

In conformity with the desire expressed by the Legislature, with which the Directorate seeks to live in harmony, it hastens to grant the wish of the Councils in regard to specifying the use to which moneys will be put, and send them a statement of the apportionment to be made of the sums found to be indispensable. The three *milliards* are granted.

The Directorate is informed that the Toulon squadron under Richeri has put into Cadiz, after having captured many of the enemy's ships. We are also informed that Paoli, who has had dealings with the English, having aroused their mistrust, has been summoned by them to London.

It has been seen that citizen Trouvé, on the installation of the Directorate, had been nominated and appointed by Larevellière-Lépeaux. This estimable director, most impassioned in his likes, seemed to have a great fondness for the former editor of the *Moniteur*. He vouched for his being an excellent Republican, energetic, and worthy of participating in the labors of the Directorate. In order to give us an idea of the spirit and character of young Trouvé, Larevellière-Lépeaux was wont to tell us in familiar conversation that Trouvé had occasionally told him that he regretted not having been a member of the National Convention, "in order to vote for the death of a king"—an energetic and antique act, he would say, "the like of which

does not present itself twice in thousands of centuries." We knew full well, and doubtless only too well, we five, what it meant to have voted the death of a king; and in spite of all the reasons we could discover in the necessity of things and the terror of the times, we were not otherwise certain of the infallibility of our conduct in this great affair. All the more could we not place absolute faith in an opinion so closely akin to the flattery of a courtier addressing regicides, when M. Trouvé declared that he would have dearly liked to have voted for the death of a king.

Can it be possible, is it credible that the citizen Trouvé now spoken of, he whose Republican incandescence seems so little reassuring to us, is the same who later on, our ambassador to various courts, will carry thither the manners and ways of despotism towards free states whose foundations he shall undermine; that he is the same who, after having betrayed his trust as a tribune of the people, and gone over to the empire, shall be one of the first to boast of being a "subject" of the empire, don his livery, and become, as prefect, one of the most devoted satellites of tyranny, and one of the most pitiless executors of the severities of the conscription; who shall next forsake the empire when his master, defeated, shall have become the weakest, and rally as usual to the standard of the strongest, and who shall offer to the Restoration the servility which valets style devotedness—a servility which the Imperial Government doubtless for too long made successful use of, but which finally brought about the ruin of all despotic Governments weak enough to put trust in their slaves?

The Directorate, with the exception of Larevellière, being of opinion that M. Trouvé was, in spite of all his Republican ardor and energy, very young to undertake the delicate functions of secretary-general, determines that Larevellière, his patron, shall ask him to hand in his resignation. Lagarde is appointed in his stead, on the recommendation of Merlin, Minister of Justice. This is the Lagarde who will remain with the Directorate as long as it lasts, to sign all its acts, and who will have the honor of being allowed to attend its sittings up to the 18th Brumaire, on which day he shall sign the *exequatur* of the destruction of the Government to which he owes his whole livelihood; who will go over to the consuls also as their secretary, to be replaced by M. Maret, former editor of the *Moniteur*. The latter will in his turn become permanent secretary to the empire, as he was to the consulate, and be rewarded for his secretaryship with a dukedom. He will call himself Duc de Bassano in all seriousness! . . .

The Committees of Public Safety and of General Security, still in existence, dissolve themselves, and surrender to the Directorate all their attributes, which belong to the Government.

The Directorate invites the legislative body to frame a law in regard to desertion.

Siméon denounces Fréron, on mission at Marseilles: message to the Directorate in regard to this matter.

The attack on Fréron was an unjust one, and not made in good faith. Fréron, who on the occasion of his first mission in the Year II. may, like ourselves, have shown all the firmness imposed by the rigor of the times, had returned (Year IV.) to

the south with altogether contrary dispositions, and had already given proof of this; he had not only repressed, but even hunted down those who deserved it; he had proclaimed peace, the reunion of men's minds based on the establishment of constitutional order, and he had happily begun to organize such order. It was the spite felt towards him in connection with his mission of the Year II. which nowadays caused the "missionary" of the Year IV. to be persecuted.

Commissaries had been sent simultaneously with him, selected by the Thermidorian party, as "apostles" of moderation. They were MM. Julien, Méchin, and Martainville. They had come forward as the determined opponents of what they called Terrorism. We had accepted them on these grounds, as the encouraging champions of an opinion contrary to the one which had in preceding years dominated and tormented the south. Far from Fréron being out of place in conjunction with these alleged angels of "moderation," it would seem that he was even more moderate than they, and that they charged him with lukewarmness. General Brune, whom I had sent in a military capacity with Fréron, has repeatedly declared to me that it was Fréron who was the least violent and truly the chief in wisdom as well as of the mission; while MM. Julien, Méchin, and Martainville (the last-named especially) were so many incarnate devils who regretted not having been revolutionary enough previously, proclaiming that it was impossible to err in that direction in regard to all the aristocrats of the south. Another personage who seemed to vie with these, one whom Fréron was compelled to keep in check

equally, was Adjutant-General Leclerc, he who in consequence of his political ardor, since appreciated by Bonaparte, married his sister Pauline. This Pauline was then on the point of marrying Fréron, with whom she had intimate relations; they appeared together in public and at the theatre with hardly proper familiarity, even according to the manners of the day. Later will be seen the objections raised by Bonaparte, on his becoming Commander of the Army of Italy, against this matrimonial alliance with Fréron.

It would doubtless be of very little interest to follow the career of Fréron's several acolytes just referred to by me. We know that General Brune became a Marshal of France; we also know his tragic end in the very district to which he had brought peace fifteen years previously; that General Leclerc, brother-in-law of the First Consul, and, as such, general-in-chief of the expedition to San Domingo, died on that island, after having ostentatiously borne the spectacle of his conjugal opprobrium, after having perpetrated frightful deeds there, having treacherously made a prisoner of Toussaint-l'Ouverture, and having forever lost to France the finest of her colonies.

Just as all these names spring up in my memory, I am informed that the three other personages are still living. I am told that M. Julien, after having been engaged in various pursuits, is resting after his stormy life in a Belgian retreat; that M. Méchin journeyed through the imperial régime at the head of various préfectures, oblivious of his ardent republicanism; that to-day even he would feel no repugnance at becoming a prefect once more, were the

Ministers now in power kind enough to appoint him one. I learn further that M. Martainville, who came out so openly as a perfect Revolutionary in the days I mention, is precisely the editor of the *Drapeau Blanc* whose doctrines are slightly different from those he professed of old. Far from me to interpret with the aid of any epigram what might appropriately be styled the metempsychoses of these gentlemen. Possessing as I do testimonials of their gratitude for services rendered at a time when fortune frowned on them, I pray that they may be as happy as they can. My friendship, to which they formerly rendered justice in most distinct terms, does not permit that I should do aught but give them one more proof of it by abstaining from publishing any of their letters to me. But perchance the delicacy of M. Martainville would complain of my too scrupulous discretion were I to allow decent folk, able to appreciate all the grace of sentiments, to remain in ignorance of those which he felt sufficient confidence in me to express in his most genuine and amiable moments of effusion (Martainville's letter[1]).

Miranda, indicted by decree in Vendémiaire, asks the Council of Five Hundred to repeal the decree or to have him brought to trial. The Council, passing to the order of the day, refers his petition to the Directorate. We all agree that it is not meet to prolong severities necessitated by past events. The Deputies Saladin, Rovère, Aubry, and Louvet are restored to liberty.

17th Brumaire, Year IV.

The Committee of Public Safety, when waging a war of extermination on La Vendée, had on several occasions announced

[1] The letter referred to does not appear in the text of the Memoirs of Barras.—G. D.

that it was ended, and yet fresh flames had repeatedly blazed forth; the Directorate, anxious to heal this devouring sore, thinks that the absolute direction of it should be given to a single general-in-chief. Hoche, who had already exercised a command over a portion of that district, is invested with the chief command of the Army of the Ocean Shore. Able Hoche communicates to us a proclamation full of wisdom and firmness he has at once addressed to the Vendeans; it is typical of the great pacification he purposes to effect. 22d Brumaire, Year IV.

The Directorate asks to be empowered to issue a requisition for cereals, the scarcity of which is already making itself felt in disastrous fashion; it is empowered to levy, in such departments as it shall see fit, 250,000 quintals of cereals, on account of the land-tax. 18th Brumaire, Year IV.

Le Maître and his accomplices, charged with plotting against the Republic, are handed over to a court-martial. Le Maître is sentenced to death, the others to transportation.

The Emperors of Russia and of Austria and the King of England have concluded a treaty of alliance.

The Minister of War reads us a despatch from General Jourdan, who, after having been compelled to retreat, has made a forward movement, and driven back the enemy. General Lefèbvre gave valuable assistance on this occasion.

The Armies of the Rhine and of Sambre-et-Meuse are henceforth to operate in concert; the enemy, taken in flank, will of necessity be defeated. Neuwied is bombarded by the French; Mannheim by the Austrians; but the action of the Government, which is now centralizing operations, will soon make itself felt. The Austrians are already beaten; they have lost 1500 men.

The Directorate finds itself in a most delicate and grievous position; there is a dearth of food supplies; the discredit of the assignats is complete; the parties already begin to show that they will declare themselves against the system; in the Councils they are discussing the means of abolishing the assignats.

CHAPTER II

Sittings of the Directorate

Dismemberment of Poland—The Army of Rhine-et-Moselle—Destitution of the troops—Military agents sent into the Departments—Fouché in distress—I have him appointed an agent—His connection with Babeuf—The Army of Italy—Impoverished state of the finances—The two squadrons—Instructions to the commissaries of the Government drawn up by Réal—*Mot* of an ancient: "the quintessence of eloquence"—Fréron's conduct approved of—Battle of Loano—Jourdan's army—The source of its general's daring—Insolent letter from the Minister of Tuscany—Vigorous reply—Victories of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Marceau—Charette and Sapinaud—Forced loan of six hundred millions—A palliative—Job *aîné* denounced—Uproar in the Council of Five Hundred—Devotion of the Republican armies—Noble conduct of the Army of Italy—Rey and Lemoine—Proclamation of the Directorate—Finances—The Directorate not afraid of publicity—Fifteen hundred millions of assignats—Pichegru—The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Reorganization of the mail service—Difficulty in connection with the organization of the tribunals—Dumolard—Chénier's *mot*—M. Pastoret—Surname given him by Mirabeau—His subtle argumentation in regard to the powers of the Directorate in the matter of judicial organization—Villetard's *mot* on the same subject in the Council of Five Hundred—Dupont the economist—Portalis—What happened to him while pleading against Mirabeau—Lanjuinais—His passions closely akin to virtue—Tronchet's speech—He refutes Villetard's *mot*—Decision taken by the Councils—Is it proper that the judicial organization should belong to the executive power?—Financial crisis—Request made to Holland—Alienation of the forests—Sale of the national chattels—Consummation of the dismemberment of Poland—Violence exercised by three of Europe's sovereigns—Caumartin sentenced—Military successes on the African coast—Disturbances at Rouen

—Mme. Royale exchanged — Her marriage — The Archduke Charles—Success of the Army of Italy—Gouvion Saint-Cyr—Behavior of the Austrians at Mannheim—Thieving conduct of the jobbers — The Bourse closed — Difficulties attendant upon the elections—Dissensions in regard to the verification of powers—The Ministry of Police—Merlin Minister of Police—Dinners at Bonaparte's — Archambaud, the eating-house keeper—Lanchère, the contractor—Bonaparte's escort—His exploits in the theatres—His portrait—His garb—Reports he makes to me —I am compelled to tone him down—His opinion of the laws —Merlin's subtlety—The English nation sighs for peace—Trickery of the English Government—Bonaparte's Jacobinism—The metal he is made of—Plan of campaign against theatrical performances—In sympathy with Merlin—An interesting document —The general-in-chief's report on patriotic songs—Bonaparte's staff filled with suspicious folk—His object in getting into closer communion with the *émigrés*—The shameful reason alleged by him—The "mouse-traps"—His duplicity on the 13th Vendémiaire — Favors with which he loads General Menou — I am elected by twenty departments—My thanks—My moral and material accounting—The home budget—Financial pact concluded among the members of the Directorate—Its honorable object.

We learn of the calamitous convention agreed to by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for a fresh partition of Poland.

Informed that our armies on the Moselle and the Rhine continue erecting intrenchments, while doing full justice to the learned and methodical ideas presiding over these conservative practices, I consider it my duty to remark that this is not the right kind of war for the French: it is not with the aid of this placid science that we performed miracles, and we shall impose peace. The Directorate refers my remarks to the Minister of War, with orders to file them against his letters.

Most of the staffs of the army being depleted, and as we had to face war all along our frontiers, we needed all the resources created by the terrible first Committee of Public Safety; but these resources were lacking no less in the matter of men than in money, clothing, and provisions. We adopted the

course of sending military agents into the departments. Firm men were needed, accustomed to encounter difficulties and not to dread them. Fouché, whether it was that he had already consumed the resources he was alleged to have gathered at Lyons, or whether desirous of adding something thereto, and of cloaking his condition with the still popular mantle of indigence, called on me daily to beg any position likely to give him the means of not "dying of hunger." These were his very words. I had him appointed to the agency of the 10th and 11th military divisions, with the twofold object of rescuing him from distress and preventing his indulging in demagogic intrigues, into which he plunged with individuals who were soon to compel the Government to direct its attention to them. Fouché was on intimate terms with Babeuf, even his collaborateur, not in literature, for Fouché knew no more how to write than did Talleyrand; he ever made others do what he made people believe he did himself; but when fomenting and carrying on intrigues, he never left the work to other hands.

The Army of Italy has defeated the enemy, made 500 prisoners, and captured the guns.

The Directorate again notifies the Councils that the finances are in a most impoverished state, and that it is urgent to grant the requisite funds to it.

An English squadron, disabled by a storm, has been replaced by another off the Brittany coast.

The Directorate issues instructions to the commissaries of the Government in the departments. They are once more the work of Réal, who has drawn them up with talent and enthusiasm. They breathe the purest and most marked liberty, and bear the stamp of sentiment and conviction. I doubt if Réal will later on be as fortunate in his style, when devoted to draw-

ing up imperial homilies and participating in and justifying Bonaparte's abuses of power. Tyranny is only a source of eloquence for those who combat and denounce it. An ancient has said, "I defy the slave to be an orator"; this saying embodies poetics themselves.

Owing to the information laid against Fréron, Merlin submits a report on the dismissals made by this commissary in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône. The Directorate confirms them in spite of the virulent opposition of two of its members; it notifies the Councils of its decision, and forwards to them the report of its Minister. The Army of Italy has just totally defeated the Austrians and Sardinians, capturing 3000 prisoners and the enemy's stores; it occupies not only Mount St. Bernard, but Cairo and Vado. This engagement is known under the name of the *Battle of Loano*. Frimaire, Year IV.

The Directorate informs the Councils that the Army of Italy has, after defeating the Sardinians, taken possession of Vado, that Jourdan has driven the Austrians to the banks of the Nahe, and that the Army of the Rhine, compelled to retreat, has established itself on the Queich. Jourdan's army consists of over 70,000 men; it would be more successful if its general possessed the daring of former days. Is, perchance, the daring shown by the winner of the battle of Fleurus on that famous day not proper to his character, and was it due to nothing more than the terror with which the redoubtable Committee of Public Safety inspired its agents when it placed them between the guillotine and victory?

The Minister of Tuscany, Carletti, writes to the Minister of the Interior that he wishes to pay his respects to the daughter of Louis XVI., and that the Minister should submit his reply to this letter to whom it concerns. A sincere expression of respect for and interest in august misfortune would certainly not have been censured by any member of the Directorate, however revolutionary we were reputed to be and actually were. But a courtier, the ambassador of a petty Italian State, who believed he might with impunity treat cavalierly a great republic, naturally exposed himself to a certain amount of severity on the part of the chief magistrates intrusted with representing France's power. The Directorate, feeling that it should not speak in any uncertain tone both at 8th Frimaire, Year IV.

home and abroad, concluded that the occasion was one suitable for it to give proof of the firmness which alone imposes respect on insolent people. We therefore instructed our Minister of Foreign Affairs to suspend all relations with M. Carletti, and to no longer hold any communication but with the secretary of the legation in Paris; the ambassador of the French Republic in Florence was nevertheless to continue exercising his functions.

9th Frimaire, Year IV.—The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse has defeated the Austrians; General Marceau has taken up a position under the walls of Mayence. In La Vendée, Charette and Sapinaud have been attacked and driven back by the Republican army which has taken Les Herbiers. As a result of several conferences with the financial committees of the legislature, the Directorate determines on a forced loan of six hundred millions, but this is merely a palliative.

14th Frimaire, Year IV.—Great uproar in the Council of Five Hundred owing to the information laid against Job *aîné*,[1] charged with laying waste the South and the commission of slaughter.

The Republican armies continue giving proofs of devotion and disinterestedness; they come to the rescue of the Fatherland, while enduring the greatest privations. The Army of Italy itself, where this "general-in-chief of corruption" has not yet made its appearance, sets the greatest example of abnegation by renouncing its pay, which it presents to the Republic.

Generals Rey and Lemoine have defeated the Chouans near Vannes.

The Directorate, believing that it is necessary to show increased firmness with its enemies, issues a proclamation wherein it announces its resolve to combat at one and the same time factious men and expel from France the returned *émigrés*, who have again instigated disturbances. A resolution in regard to finances is rejected by the Council of Ancients. The Minister of that department presents the draft of a message with the object that funds necessary to the public services be decreed by the legislative body. The appalling picture he draws of the condition of the Republic might have been more reserved, and revealed in a lesser degree our position to the enemy; but the Directorate believes that such considerations are unworthy of a great nation, which even under the most difficult circumstances

[1] Job Aymé is doubtless meant.—Translator's note.

must dread no publicity, and must triumph over its enemies by its energy alone. The Directorate adopts the message without making any alteration thereto.

The Councils grant an appropriation of fifteen hundred millions in assignats for carrying on the war.

The army of Sambre-et-Meuse, pursuant to the reputed and stringent orders of the Directorate, has resumed the offensive. Pichegru seconds its operations. The Directorate wills that the Palatinate shall be evacuated.

The state of disorganization of the mail service is unfortunately as deplorable as that of the other public services. France is on the point of being without the primary means of communication. The Directorate sends messages to the Council on the reorganization of the mail service.

The Directorate learns with much pain that the laws recently passed for the purpose of setting free those confined in prisons have not yet been put into effect, owing to the reactions prior to the 13th Vendémiaire throughout France. The prisons are filled to overflowing; they have been under the jurisdiction of the tribunals ever since the establishment of the constitutional Government; but the tribunals themselves are incomplete in several of the departments. As the Constitution allows only ten days to all electoral bodies wherein to perform their duties, there were several which had reached the end of their session without having brought them to completion. The Directorate informs the Council of Five Hundred of the fact; hence arises the question as to who shall appoint the functionaries whom these assemblies have been unable to select. To whom are these elections to be intrusted which the electoral body has not attended to? Are the same electors to be called together once more, is then a new assembly to be formed, or is the ex-

ecutive Directorate to be given the power to make good the deficiency in the popular elections? Dumolard, who in the Five Hundred is still the same babbler he was three years ago in the Legislative Assembly, he of whom Chénier has said, when speaking of the tribune, where

> Souvent de Vergniaud l'éloquence énergique
> Vainquit de Dumolard le fatras léthargique—

this Dumolard was in favor of the appointment of the judges being left with the Directorate. Another member of the Five Hundred who in the early years of his life had seemed to be a disciple of philosophy, one whose pale eloquence and insignificant appearance have since won him the name from Mirabeau of *Tête-de-Veau* (calf's-head), M. Pastoret, who nowadays belongs to the speculators in the counter-revolution, sought to bring forth on this occasion all the arguments the false logic of party-spirit could supply him with. "The appointments which the Directorate has the power of making are determined by the Constitution," says M. Pastoret. "To believe that because it enjoys the power of dismissal it has the right to appoint, would constitute an error similar to that of pretending that a man who has the power of destruction enjoys that of creation." Were such a right granted to the Directorate, what would become of the separation of powers? Were the Directorate to appoint judges, what would become of the judicial power? The first five days of the electoral assembly of the Seine have been devoted to the election of two-thirds of the Parliamentary representation, and to the drawing up of supplementary lists; there were 22,000 names to be gone through

by process of vote, and it was physically impossible to show any greater activity. Such were M. Pastoret's reasons to contest the executive power's right to complete the tribunals by making the lacking appointments. M. Pastoret will in the future show himself less jealous of concessions towards the several executive powers which will follow in succession. A member of the Council of Five Hundred, Villetard—who then was an adherent of liberty, to become later one of the satellites of the imperial *régime*—annihilated Pastoret, and decided the course of the Council with the following poor argument: "You have in your favor the legal axiom that all that is not forbidden is permissible."

The resolution of the Five Hundred had yet to be submitted to the Ancients; there, as it was necessary when acting most in opposition to the interests of liberty to assume its language, Dupont, the economist, exclaimed, "Our Constitution is republican, not monarchical: it would be tantamount to re-establishing the monarchy and all the rights of the royal prerogative were we to permit that the same power appointing generals should also appoint judges; that the same power directing the armies should direct the tribunals."

All this resembled principles very much. And, indeed, principles were the line of argument settled among themselves by men who had the least principles in their hearts, but who had resolved to follow this course in order to destroy the new organization of our Fatherland. Hence it is not at all a matter of surprise to see treading on the heels of MM. Pastoret and Dupont, M. Portalis, the lawyer of Provence who took it into his head to plead against Mirabeau,

with the result of being, according to the expression of the French Demosthenes, "completely smothered" by him—to see, I repeat, M. Portalis reel off an interminable litany of the commonplaces which generally flowed so copiously from the *cold-water tap*. Any stick being good enough to beat a dog with, M. Portalis and his colleagues, who little cared for the people, had no scruples in invoking its name on this occasion, arguing that the people had not attributed to the Directorate the right of appointing the judges, having reserved it unto itself. Thus it was that these men, to whom the idea and word of the people had always been a scarecrow, did not fear harping on that string; for it is ever the habit of parties to appropriate unto themselves that which suits them of the passion of the day, and to parade as their moral that which constitutes the greatest contradiction and refutation of the ideas they have advanced in other times.

Lanjuinais, whose passions were akin to virtue, since they were sincere, but who was none the less frequently most partial, likewise proclaimed the principles of the separation of powers, for the purpose of proving that the Directorate should not be intrusted with the nomination of the judges. All these very common arguments needed to be strengthened by a superior talent, so the famous Tronchet, of the new Third, pleaded in his turn against the right of the Directorate. Among other things, he most cleverly analyzed the saying of Villetard in the Council of Five Hundred, that "all that is not forbidden is allowed." M. Tronchet spoke somewhat as follows: "A great difference exists between the position of individuals towards the Constitution and the laws of

whatever kind and that of constituted authorities. As to individuals, it is indeed true that they may do all that the Constitution and the law do not forbid. There is a simple reason for it. Each and every individual possesses, by virtue of a natural and primitive right, the power of doing all that a positive law dictated by the common interest does not prohibit him from doing; it is altogether different in the case of constituted authorities. Their existence does not antedate the Constitution creating them; their power is not derived from any pre-existing right; the same Constitution which gives them their existence determines and limits their power; they may only do what is prescribed by the law which creates them. All, therefore, that is not specially vested in them is denied them."

The Councils, treating all these subtleties as they deserved, decreed that the appointment of the places vacant in the judiciary should be "made" by the Directorate.

24th Frimaire, Year IV.—I must confess that this line of reasoning, of which I was informed at the close of the sitting of the Council of Ancients, would have seemed almost irresistible to me in ordinary times; but we were still far from being at peace, and the electoral bodies to whom we owed the new Third, and who had rendered necessary the 13th Vendémiaire, were not in the least reassuring. Since the victory of the 13th Vendémiaire had established the Directorate and its rights, it behooved the Directorate to maintain itself by the very principle of its existence; and assuredly the executive power, such as determined by the Constitution of the Year IV., did not possess powers comparable with those delegated

by other Constitutions. The men now so particular concerning the appointment of the judges made no difficulty about handing that right to the executive power in all the Constitutions in the making of which they co-operated subsequently. It is demonstrated and admitted by all sound-thinking men that there is nothing exorbitant inherent to such a power, especially when the appointments are coupled with irremovability. This is not the place to speak of the gaps left by the Constitution of the Year III. in regard to the executive power, such as the powerlessness of dissolving the Chambers and of commanding obedience from the Treasury. These gaps will make themselves felt when the mechanism shall be seen at work, and the cog-wheels lacking to make its motion perfect will be found to be missing. . . .

As regards myself—nowadays more than ever convinced, as a result of all our experience, that the establishment of true liberty depends on the separation of powers, and that an independent and respective organization is the real guarantee of all social safety and security—I do not conceal from myself that the Directorate required to be supported and strengthened in the early days of its existence, that France's existence was truly bound up with its own, and that those who denied the Directorate the means it asked for not from any personal ambition, revealed themselves as the enemies of the new social order already engaged in restoring the old one. Now what are the means wherewith we have to face so many various needs? Forty *milliards*[1] of assignats about to be demonetized, while at the same time all the

[1] A *milliard* equals a thousand millions.—Translator's note.

services are in a state of collapse; the Navy, like the War Department, is without provisions and without arsenals. *Mandats* (orders) are to take the place of assignats, but already are the securities for both absorbed; the national properties are depreciated in value and sold at a low price which brings no resources!

In a like crisis, which compels having recourse to all possible means, the Directorate instructs Noël, its ambassador in Holland, to demand the remainder of the subsidies due us by Their High Powers; the Directorate simultaneously expresses its wish to maintain existing treaties, and its determined resolution to disperse the gatherings at Bremen and Osnabrück.

In a message the Directorate begs the authorization to alienate the forests and to sell the national chattels, in order to meet the expense of provisioning the armies until such time as the forced loan shall have come into the Treasury. We learn that unfortunate Poland has been partitioned, and that the treaty between the Courts of St. Petersburg, Austria, and Prussia has been sanctioned by King Stanislas Poniatowski; he has signed the destruction of his fatherland in the prison where these Powers detain him. Freedom is restored to him after his abdication, and the partition is consummated.

The court-martial has sentenced Caumartin to transportation.

The exchange of the daughter of Louis XVI. against the French ministers and deputies has been delayed. Marie Thérèse Charlotte, daughter of Louis XVI., leaves the Temple prison, on the 28th Frimaire, at four o'clock in the morning, to be conveyed to the frontier, where the exchange is to take place. We had been assured that the marriage of the princess with the Archduke Charles was a settled affair. An intrigue had paved the way for this political combination, which gives place to a union more befitting to an unfortunate family, whose principal need was not to become separated.

28th Frimaire, Year IV.

A French naval division cruising off the African coast has destroyed two English factories and captured several ships.

The *Courrier de Rouen* announces disturbances and pillaging. The instigators of these disturbances, who have recently arrived in Paris, are arrested by order of the Directorate.

The English newspapers inform us that the nation has, in a threatening manner, expressed a desire for peace. The king has said that he shared this desire; frankness and good faith are so little the appanage of that Government that we can place no confidence in it, nor trust its protestations.

The Army of Italy continues its successes; the left division of the Army of the Rhine, commanded by Saint-Cyr, has taken Zweibrücken. The Austrians, on entering Mannheim, have ill-treated its inhabitants; the Bavarian troops have cast into prison the two Palatine ministers.

4th Vendémiaire, Year IV.—The Minister of the Interior submits a report on the extortions carried on at the Bourse by jobbers engaged in depreciating the present quotations with the object of causing the failure of the financial measures taken by the three Powers of the State. The report gives rise to a lengthy discussion; finally the Directorate ordains that the Bourse shall be temporarily closed, and that the Councils shall be notified of this by message.

The election of deputies engages the attention of the Councils (committees?) intrusted with the verification of powers; divisions have occurred in the departments; the Royalist minority has sought to throw off the Republican majority; the investigation of the validity of the elections has resulted in violent discussions and personalities, germs of the wide dissensions to arise later.

12th Nivôse, Year IV.—The Directorate, by a message, asks that a Ministry of Police be created; it dwells on its urgency owing to the counter-revolutionary plots by which it is sought to lead astray the people of Paris. These enemies of the Fatherland are returned *émigrés* in the pay of the foreigner; an active police can alone thwart their intrigues. Merlin, appointed Minister of Police, is replaced in the Ministry of Justice by Génissieux.

The deputies delivered to the Austrians by Dumouriez, who have just been exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI., reach Paris together with Beurnonville. Together they appear before the legislative body.

The law of the 3d Brumaire excluding from public offices the relations of *émigrés* is again attacked in the Councils; the discussion over the case of Job *aîné* serves as a pretext for every species of invective against republican institutions. The anti-

directorial deputies are nevertheless still in a minority, since Jacob *aîné* is excluded from legislative functions until the conclusion of peace.

The Directorate asks by message to be empowered to make advantageous changes in the uniforms of the troops.

The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse is composed of eleven divisions; a portion of it is cantoned between the Moselle and the Rhine, Düsseldorf, Trabant (*sic*, Traben?), and Trèves; the artillery park is in the Liège district. A suspension of hostilities has been asked for by the Austrians, and, instigated by French agents, has been granted. The Directorate hears with displeasure of this convention, for the war of invasion would be eternal if not intrusted to daring generals.

Having cursorily outlined our general situation from a military, political, and financial standpoint, I will for a while turn to the centre of Paris, in those days the 17th military division. It was commanded by Bonaparte after I had relinquished its command. On his return from Provence, and previous to the 13th Vendémiaire, he dined almost daily at my house. Since that day he took his meals in turns at the eating-house of Archambaud, or at Lanchère's, the contractor, or at Mlle. Montansier's. He never sallied forth unless accompanied by his mustachioed officers trailing long swords. "Come, citizens," he was wont to say after dinner, "to horse, and let us go to the theatre to make them sing the Marseillaise and to correct the Chouans." He would climb on the back of his big nag, wearing a huge hat ornamented with a tricolor plume and the sides turned down, top-boots, a trailing sword, longer than the man who carried it: such was the equipment in which the General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior exhibited himself in the various theatres. He would then return to the Directorate,

render me an account of his exploits, and take my orders for the next day. Without seeking to ascribe to myself a *rôle* of moderation to a greater extent than it belonged to my character and to my recent position of General-in-Chief of the 13th Vendémiaire, I truly remember that I was ever compelled to moderate Bonaparte, to repeat to him that "we are initiating a constitutional *régime* which no longer tolerates arbitrary acts," when he would reply: "Pooh-pooh, could anything ever be done if one contented one's self with sticking to the law? I am not so particular as all that, and when I have committed some arbitrary act, I call on Minister Merlin in the morning, so as to straighten out matters; he never fails to find for me in the laws some happy means of proving that we have not gone outside of them."

When I referred to Bonaparte's Jacobinical conduct at Toulon in his capacity of author of the *Souper de Beaucaire*, although the document is there for all to see, it may have been thought that there was some exaggeration on my part, and that I took time by the forelock in order to make the contrast between his past and his future life appear all the stronger. And yet I have eliminated from my recollections everything I had actually gathered in the course of his confidences in me. The effusion about to be perused is no more than an official act of Bonaparte's as commander; it will be seen therefrom of what metal was made the General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior, as well as the way in which he dealt with those Parisians whom he was called upon to protect. He was even desirous of exercising a sway over theatrical performances, just

as he subsequently sought to regulate everything else; he makes them the object of an actual plan of campaign, and works in entire harmony with Merlin, who is worthy of being one with him in the principles of their government. It is here that they begin to appreciate each other.

PARIS, 20th Nivôse, Year IV.

The General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior to the Chief of the Staff.

You shall command Adjutants-General Charloc, Courveillière, Lacroix, and Solignac to proceed punctually at six o'clock, the first to the Théâtre Louvois, the second to the Théâtre Feydeau, the third to the Opéra, and the fourth to the Italiens. They shall occupy the boxes reserved for the staff; they shall send for the adjutant of brigade on duty and the chief of detectives of the military police, in order to consult together.

You shall give orders that fifty men be stationed at the door of each of these four playhouses, exclusive of those already on duty there; you shall take these men from the Saint-Roch picket. You shall command fifty grenadiers of the Convention, one hundred men from the Saint-Roch picket, and fifty dragoons to hold themselves in readiness in the court-yard of the Library, where the officer commanding the garrison will take up his quarters.

You are to place three mounted orderlies within easy reach of each playhouse, in order to be informed of everything that goes on.

You shall order citizen Marné to proceed to the Théâtre Feydeau, with six of his most trusted agents, who will scatter themselves in the *parterre* and in the galleries, for the purpose of informing of and designating to the adjutant-general all men whose turbulent conduct should necessitate their arrest. He shall also despatch six of these agents to the Théâtre des Italiens, one of whom shall act as chief, and shall report himself to the adjutant-general in his box, in order to make himself known. Citizen Groisard shall proceed to the Opéra subject to the same instructions; he is to send six agents to the Théâtre de la République.

The adjutants-general in command at the several theatres shall cause to be arrested any man who shall indulge in any act of disapproval, or throw any obstacle in the way of the execution of the ordinance of the Government; they are to place sentries at the doors of the boxes whence any hissing or any other sign of disapproval tending to prevent the execution of the ordinance of the Government may have proceeded.

Were the noise so great that the actor could not go on with his part, and that the ordinance of the Government could not be executed, the adjutants-general would order the manager to stop the performance, and would command the spectators to disperse. They will inform head-quarters of anything that may occur.

The commander of the garrison, together with the picket from the Library, will go wherever circumstances may require. You shall give the necessary orders for the enforcement of these presents, and you will report to the staff punctually at six o'clock.

You will command thirty dragoons of the Directorate's guard to saddle, and to hold themselves in readiness to bridle.

BONAPARTE.

Read and approved by the Minister of the General Police of the French Republic, 20th Nivôse, Year IV. of the one and indivisible French Republic. MERLIN.

GENERAL STAFF.

30th Nivôse, Year IV. of the one and indivisible French Republic.

Report on to-day's performances.

OPÉRA.—The patriotic songs were most favorably received.

OPÉRA-COMIQUE.—Everything went off very quietly, and the songs were loudly applauded.

FEYDEAU.—Patriotic airs were played by the orchestra previous to the rising of the curtain. Between the two plays the hymn of the Marseillais was sung. During the last stanza but one a hiss was heard. The police agents are searching the Chouan. With that exception, the performance went off quietly.

LA RÉPUBLIQUE, LE VAUDEVILLE } All quiet.

The General-in-Chief,

BONAPARTE.

But at the very time when, as commander of the 17th division, he came to render us an account of the vigorous measures by means of which he was putting the aristocrats through their facings, and that he played the police officer with such demagogic apparatus, we were receiving at the Directorate reports which accused him of having on his staff *émigrés* and rebel officers who had fought against us in the "sections" on the 13th Vendémiaire. Had this represented on his part the expression of a sentiment of clemency and of humanity towards unfortunate men, nothing could have done him greater honor than to confess to it; but such was nowise the motive animating him. It was, on the part of Bonaparte, an intrigue added to so many others, a studied attempt at being at one and the same time on good terms with both parties.

On learning of this behavior, we asked an explanation of it from Bonaparte, who replied, just as would some old police rascal, that he must fain adopt this method in order to know what was going on in the enemy's camp; furthermore, that if he received them at his house it was because they constituted just so many "mouse-traps" (police slang). He vouchsafed the same reply in regard to what had been told us about his receiving most suspicious foreigners, both English and German—to wit, that it was "to deceive them all and to serve the Directorate." . . . It is difficult not to see in this the man who is, even at this early stage, playing two parts, a thing he will frequently do in the future. We have seen a first instance of Bonaparte's duplicity on the 13th Vendémiaire, when, after having entered into negotiations with the Le Pelletier "section," he

discovered the weakness of that side; not finding, moreover, the conditions offered to him equal to his chances with the Republican party, he had come over to ours. On Menou being brought to trial, it became all the easier to lay bare the deceit embodied in their past intercourse, and to find that Bonaparte's parleys with the Le Pelletier "section" were such as to compromise him. He was discovered bestirring himself in most mysterious fashion on behalf of Menou; he managed matters so as to place the prisoner in a favorable light in the eyes of the military commission, and contributed to his acquittal. The favors with which he is subsequently to load General Menou, whose incapacity he has previously denounced, will furnish yet another proof of his understanding with him in those days. True to the engagement I have taken of rendering an account of all matters personal to myself, I will now continue, as promised, to render a material and moral account of my doings in regard to my fellow-citizens. The witnesses of my political life, they seem to have held it in some esteem, as shown by the congratulations I received on all sides at the time of the siege of Toulon. This testimonial is even wider in its range on the occasion of the recent elections, since I was elected deputy by over twenty departments, to whom I have addressed my thanks in about the following terms:

22d Nivôse, Year IV.

Citizens,

I have deeply felt the mark of confidence you have been good enough to show me. My whole life is devoted to the Republic, my most ardent wishes are for its prosperity, and my whole affection goes out to its friends.

Let us unite, citizens, to put an end to anarchy and brigand-

age; may the reign of law, justice, and humanity triumph at last; may our bloodthirsty persecutors, whatever mantle they may cloak themselves with, be everywhere repulsed. The executive Directorate will always deserve the confidence of all patriots, and will never compound with our enemies.

I would have elected to represent the department of the Nord had there not existed an incompatibility between executive and legislative functions. I do not think it is possible to bring forward a better testimonial than that of these twenty departments expressing their full confidence in me. That of the entire National Convention was in a like degree accorded me through the medium of the votes which at critical periods invested me with the supreme command of the chief posts of the Republic; for both on the 9th Thermidor and on the 13th Vendémiaire Paris was not only the capital of France, but France herself, nay, the Republic in its entity; it perished if we succumbed in Paris. This much may I say summarily in regard to my moral account.

As to my material account, I am just as proud of rendering it by a reference to my previous missions. I have placed before the reader all those I have filled since 1792; they extend over a period of some forty months. I have travelled several thousand leagues in a state of perpetual motion and without fixed abode. Well, then, all travelling expenses, all sums paid out for the necessaries of life, and to uphold my position as a representative of the people, do not amount to more than a few thousand francs of to-day's money. As to my private expenses the amount does not exceed the payment we received in Paris as deputies. Now it is a

known fact that at the time of the growing depreciation of the assignats this payment was hardly sufficient to buy bread, much less clothes.

At a time when men did so much for the Fatherland and so little for themselves, it was almost a luxury for the representatives of the people sent with full powers to the armies or into the departments to have a coach to convey them to their destination. It was a mere loan made to them by the general administration, and they had to account for it with scrupulous exactness on their return. The slightest forgetfulness in this respect, as well as in anything concerning any interest whatsoever, would have been considered a crime.

I shall now come to what the members of the Directorate saw fit to do in this connection, in order not to be beneath their position as chief magistrates of the nation, while at the same time not giving offence to Republican customs.

The Directorate began by ordering its members to place before it a statement of the expenses of its clerks, and to point out the amounts that could be saved in the matter of salaries, as also the eliminations it was possible to make in view of the state of the public treasury. As for ourselves, who constituted the chief authority of the Republic, sincerely desirous one and all to set, by the regularity and independence of our conduct, the example of the morality we should like to see pervade all classes of society, we considered it behooved us to determine our future position in order to better insure our present conduct, and to fill up perhaps a gap which the framers of the Constitution of the Year III. had left in the part determining the position of

the Directorate. We therefore drew up the following enactment, which shows the extent of our desires and gives an idea of their moderateness, based as it was on our needs:

LIBERTY, EQUALITY.

PARIS, 30th Nivôse, Year IV. of the one and indivisible French Republic.

The undersigned members of the executive Directorate have come to the agreement the tenor of which follows.

It is expressly agreed among the members that on each one going out of office, either in the ordinary course or through resignation (in the case only where such resignation is tantamount to the ordinary course through substitution), shall receive a sum equally apportioned out of the emoluments of the remaining members.

To wit:

Of 40,000 livres for the first member retiring, 30,000 for the second, 20,000 for the third, 10,000 for the fourth. It is likewise agreed that in case of the death of one of the members, the sum due to him, according to the present agreement, shall be handed over to his family.

LETOURNEUR, REWBELL, CARNOT, P. BARRAS,
L.-M. LAREVELLIÈRE-LÈPEAUX.

CHAPTER III

Republican simplicity—Order introduced into the home finances—Miranda restored to liberty—His character, talents, and intrigues—Retreat of the Army of Condé—Dissensions in the hostile camp—Schérer—Camus appointed Minister of Finances—The Directorate's precipitate action—Camus declines a portfolio—Commissaries sent to the colonies—Armistice consented to by Pichegru—Anniversary of the death of Louis XVI.—Bonaparte's cynicism on this occasion—Mme. Beauharnais imitates him—Astrological forecasts—Important labors of the Directorate—A new party shows its head—A comic barometer—Preparations for peace—The levy of the thirtieth horse—A proposition of defection repulsed by the Directorate—An attempt to deprive the Directorate of control over the *émigrés*—The plates of the assignats—Enormous amount of paper securities—Siméon denounced—On good terms with everybody—Chameleons—A new ambassador from Tuscany—Count Corsini—Important message in regard to the colonies—Winter-quarters of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Intense cold—Suspension of hostilities in Italy—English greed—Taking of Trincomalee—Disturbances fomented by the enemy—Letourneur president—A tricolor flag presented to the Republic of Geneva—A Republican toast—Austria's financial straits—Royalists in Poitou—General Hoche's ability—Aubert-Dubayet resigns—His embassy—His amiability—He dreams of civilizing Turkey—Pétiet—Circular sent to the commissaries attached to the armies—Ramel Minister of Finance—Suppression of the distribution of food supplies in Paris—A French garrison at Savona—Proclamation addressed to the western departments—Curé Bernier—Stofflet, Sapinaud, Charette, and Du Jarry.

'Twas with antecedents such as I have just quoted on my own behalf—'twas, I venture to say, with manners of Republican simplicity—that we all

of us entered upon our task of governing. A determination to display courage had presided over the installation of the Directorate; an idea of order likewise presided over its organization and expenditure. The Directorate, believing that the several services of the directorial palace should be carried on within the limits of the funds decreed for these various purposes, enacted that the common and personal expenses should be kept apart, fixed their several applications and conditions, leaving no loophole for the violation of the regulations, and opened its books to both friend and foe. In order not to furnish any further pretext for the abstraction of the chattels of the Republic, we also took the most stringent measures to that effect, holding the Ministers accountable for them; in order to put an end to the abuses so long in existence we allowed no more than twenty-five coaches and fifty sets of harness for the public services.

The Directorate, pursuant to its system of moderation, had restored to liberty General Miranda, arrested in consequence of the events of Vendémiaire. This Peruvian general, the most intriguing of Europeans, was a most gifted man; his memory is not to be conceived; he could speak every language, discoursed cleverly about war, but knew not the way to wage it, as he had demonstrated in Belgium in 1793. Saved from the penalty of the intrigues in which he was deeply implicated by the generosity of the Directorate, he engaged in fresh intrigues with the stranger and the deputies of the new Third. Miranda being a foreigner, the Directorate, in order not to be compelled to again treat him with severity, gave him

twenty-four hours wherein to leave Paris and the territory of the Republic in the shortest possible time.

The Army of Condé has retreated; the Austrians and Piedmontese cast on each other the blame of their defeat.

Schérer, who commands the Army of Italy, sends a very long list of lieutenants, sergeants, and soldiers who have honorably distinguished themselves in recent engagements. Schérer is the first general who has given such noble publicity to deeds which generals-in-chief are in the habit of considering their sole work and property.

The Directorate has thoughtlessly appointed Camus Minister of Finance, without informing Faypoult, whose place he is to take, or even Camus himself. The Directorate, in quest of probity when making its selections, could undoubtedly not have placed its hand on a more honest man than Camus; but it was requisite that exactness and integrity should be accompanied by talents and resources in this new and difficult period. Moreover Camus, fully aware of his limitations, preferred his post of librarian-archivist to the Councils to a ministerial portfolio. This act of modesty will doubtless have few imitators. We are still under the Republic, and there are yet citizens who seek to make their conduct consistent with the professions voiced by their utterances.

The Legislature empowers the Directorate to send commissaries to the colonies.

Pichegru informs us of the suspension of hostilities which has taken place in the case of the Army of the Rhine. He pretends that his army was forced to this suspension owing to the one entered into by the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Jourdan on his part alleges the same reason.

1st Pluviôse, Year IV.—On the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. the Directorate goes in full pomp to the Champ de Mars. It was not necessary for me to exaggerate the revolutionary fervor displayed by Bonaparte at the siege of Toulon on the 13th Vendémiaire, where it was not the mere soldier at work, but the Montagnard, in the

full force of the term, such as he had formerly shown himself to be by several deeds of his hand, and particularly in his *Souper de Beaucaire*, as well as in every action connected with his command. He was in the heat of his feigned amours and of his very substantial ambition, when on the 1st Pluviôse, which corresponds to the 21st of January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. once more came round—a melancholy ceremony which neither reason, humanity, nor patriotism can justify. Still, the primary duty of the functionaries of the Republic consisted in keeping it strictly, as one more pledge given to the free men of all countries "that the founders of the French Republic would never fail in this duty from a fear of royalty's revenge, and that it was incumbent upon them to conquer or die."

On the occasion of this ceremony, therefore, not only did Bonaparte display an ardor nowise required of him, but a cynicism which seemed to defy all the weak-kneed patriots, and throw in the shade by his patriotism those considered the most patriotic. Hence he was the actual organizer of the ceremony of the 1st Pluviôse, not only in his capacity of Commander of the Army of the Interior, but as the most determined of its voters. Several of those who found themselves similarly situated in no way considered they were taking part in a fête; they were absorbed in their thoughts and cast down. Bonaparte's physiognomy was smiling and amiable. He showed the bad taste of saying to several people on that day: "As for me, I am a *conventionnel;* I have voted for the death of the king." Even the woman who was about to become his wife joined in this cheerfulness, for Mme. Beauharnais, who I

would fain believe, rather than judge her as atrociously cold-blooded, acted the part on this occasion, was already in sympathy with her future husband. Just as gleefully as himself did she say that "she too was a *conventionnelle*, a terrorist." This was a singular fashion for this child of Corsica to show his gratitude to the Bourbons, who had rescued him from poverty by giving him and his brothers cadet-ships in the military school! It was no less singularly preluding, on the part of Mme. Beauharnais, the respectful affection she was at a later time to express for the Bourbons, subsequent to their Restoration, it is true, and subsequent to her having had the impudence to seat herself on the throne. Hence has she said naïvely that "it had been formerly predicted to her by astrology."

A party, which had already shown its head in the Councils, begins to declare itself the avowed enemy of the Directorate. From the very moment of our installation we have had to contend with most difficult circumstances; we have surmounted them by arduous and continuous labors. We have proposed to the Legislature, not only many laws, but the regulation of existing ones. Finances, armies, home matters, all were in a deplorable state; the hospitals lacked the most ordinary resources for the treatment of the sick. Our devotion to the Fatherland supplied us with the means of warding off the misfortunes threatening it. We kept party-spirit and the privileged ones in check, and perfected all Republican organizations; and, wondrous to relate, we returned to specie from assignats and orders (*mandats*) without difficulty, and as if in the natural order of things.

The precipitation imposed by urgency of circumstances may have laid certain of our messages open to criticism, but our intentions are pure; we are guided solely by the public interest and the hope of succeeding in satisfying it promptly. All the members are in harmony; so far no dissension has arisen among them. Yet a party inimical to liberty is about to breathe discord; it is the party, ever defeated but ever active, which by means of fallacious protestations seeks to seduce men of standing both in civilian and military ranks.

Among the sorry jests whose object is to give support to the serious attacks premeditated against the Directorate, we are told of the following one, doubtless unworthy of a place in history, but recalling the lightness of French manners—a lightness which for so long seemed, under the monarchy, the chief characteristic of the nation, but to which a more serious turn of mind has succeeded since the establishment of the Republic.

"Here is," according to the editor of the *Gazette française*, "a bit of humor which is rapidly gaining circulation and having great success just at present":

BAROMÈTRE NATIONAL

Les Jacobins, à la tempête;
Le Conseil des Cinq-Cents, à l'orage;
Le Conseil des Anciens, tempéré;
Le Directoire exécutif, au variable;
Les Assignats, au vent;
Le Peuple, au très sec.

6th Pluviôse, Year IV.—Indirect propositions of peace are being made in several quarters to the Directorate; not only does it entertain them, but it expresses a sincere desire that its Min-

isters shall come to an understanding with the Powers. We would all be glad to see an end to the effusion of blood which has been going on for, alas! too long; but these overtures, in nowise official, have had no other object than to deceive us and make us suspend our preparations towards the campaign of the Year IV. As a result of repeated conferences with the Minister of War, it has been established that to obtain remounts for our cavalry, meet the requirements of our artillery, of military transportation and carting, a drastic measure is necessary. All generals are unanimous in asking the levy of every thirtieth horse; we convey this request in a message, and the levy is decreed.

A secret committee having its habitation in Zealand, whose moving spirit is the engineer Fregeteau, would like to separate from Holland that portion of the United Provinces in order to unite it with French territory. The Directorate instructs its Minister of Foreign Affairs, and likewise its Ambassador to Holland, to assure that country's Government that even if this overture had been official, it would have rejected it, and that it would have maintained the harmony and alliance which a common interest renders so necessary to the two States.

A portion of the Council of Five Hundred proposes to create a Commission of Five to be intrusted with the "radiation" of the *émigrés*. The representatives of the *émigrés* in the Council would like to deprive the Directorate of this right, one so important to the public peace. The previous question is invoked by the majority, which treats the motion as it deserves.

9th Pluviôse, Year IV.

The Directorate presents, and the Councils adopt, the proposition of breaking up the plates from which the assignats are printed, and burning the paper used in manufacturing them. The assignats had multiplied to so great an extent since the days of the Constituent Assembly that they represented a total of 5,581,000,614 livres.

The deputy Siméon is denounced by the citizens of Toulon as an *émigré*. The Councils pass to the order of the day in regard to this denunciation. M. Siméon is destined to suffer and conquer many tribulations hereafter. He is one of those men born to pass through revolutions, counter-revolutions, the Republic, the Empire, the Restorations, and still hold his own under all *régimes*. Dexterity and ability, coupled, it must be admitted, with some show of decency—such is M. Siméon. The

last quality is after all something more than is displayed by the many chameleons who have appeared on the stage of the Revolution.

I have mentioned that the Directorate had ordered the dismissal of the ambassador Carletti, whose political conceit had made him forget what was due to the Government of the Republic. The Directorate had informed the Government of Tuscany that it would welcome any other ambassador. The Grand Duke has met our wishes, and has sent us Count Don Neri Corsini. This Minister presented his credentials at a public sitting. Three members of the Directorate welcomed him with due solemnity.

A message proposes to the Councils the alienation of the goods and lands belonging to the State in all our colonies. The message sets forth the advantages to be derived from this measure by agriculture, as also by our export and import trade, independent of the funds to be appropriated to the expenses of these colonies.

The Directorate takes up, in conjunction with the Minister of War, the reports it had asked him for in regard to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse; it has enacted that the winter-quarters are to be spread over a greater extent of territory, and so located as to protect the United Provinces and Zealand, threatened by the English.

9th Pluviôse, Year IV.—Despatches from Italy bring us the news that the severity of the season compels a suspension of hostilities, which the Directorate approves. It is agreed upon orally with the army of the allies.

England's inordinate craving to become mistress of the commerce of the world is again revealed in the taking of Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon, the finest port in Asia, and one of the highest military importance.

Reports received daily demonstrate that among certain agitators are to be found foreigners paid to lead citizens astray and create disturbances. The Directorate takes such police measures as are required by the circumstances and permitted by the laws against strangers.

17th Pluviôse, Year IV.—Rewbell's three months' term as president having elapsed, he is succeeded by Letourneur.

The Directorate presents the Republic of Geneva with a tricolor flag, which is handed to the syndic by the French *chargé*

d'affaires. This is followed by a meeting of French and Genevese, at which a toast is drunk "to the perpetual alliance of the Republics." All dissensions are thus brought to an end in this quarter.

It is now Austria's turn to be greatly embarrassed in her finances. She asks and obtains from the Diet of the Empire funds forthwith to prosecute the war.

The Royalist chiefs in the Poitou issue a manifesto to the royal armies with the object of rekindling their fanaticism, which is on the wane.

General Hoche has issued a proclamation as prudent as it is firm. It is accompanied by military dispositions, which are the proper auxiliary of all wisdom. A few unimportant engagements, but wherein the advantage always remains to the Republicans, take place in the districts occupied by the Army of the West.

The residents in those districts speak highly of Hoche, and are even rallying to him. There is every indication that the clever general will soon extinguish the conflagration fed by the foreigner and the *émigrés.*

The Directorate accepts the resignation of the Minister of War, Aubert-Dubayet, and appoints him ambassador at Constantinople. This general was one of the most well-bred soldiers of the Revolution. I do not imply when saying this that, born a member of the nobiliary class, he had received an education superior to others born commoners. His nature was kind-heartedness itself, while his politeness was genuine and unaccompanied by subterfuge; his was a subtle and amiable turn of mind. There was something daring, chivalrous, and courteous inherent to him. He expressed himself gracefully, in fluent and enthusiastic language, such as is required to electrify soldiers and speak to men in times of revolution. At the same time, owing to the vanity which animated him and was his moving spirit, Aubert-Dubayet was little suited to desk-work. He

knew himself, and did well to prefer the Constantinople embassy, which opened a career to his imagination. He too believed that it was possible to somewhat improve the Turks, and to implant civilization in the East. Aubert-Dubayet was succeeded by Pétiet, an intendant-commissary of war, a former administrator, a wise and laborious man, of equable and amiable character, and dealing fairly with the soldiers; moreover, equally fit to administrate under a republic or a monarchy; but, if in presence of a monarchy overthrown but not effaced from men's minds, character is the indispensable guarantee required of the chiefs of a new and Republican Government succeeding it, it cannot be said that the same necessity exists in the case of the subordinate agents, provided they are honest, and their superiors watch them and maintain them in the path of duty.

The Directorate, in a circular addressed to the commissaries attached to the armies, laid down the precise nature of their function, forbidding them to issue any order emanating from themselves. It also writes to the civil and judicial commissioners to recommend to them stricter watchfulness over the men seeking to corrupt the public mind, over priests and *émigrés*, and to see to it that the laws are duly carried into effect.

Not having replaced Faypoult and Camus, the Directorate feels the necessity of having a strong man at the head of the Ministry of Finance, and so selects the deputy Ramel, whose financial acquirements, integrity, and patriotism are known on all sides. 24th Pluviôse, Year IV.

The distribution made in Paris of food supplies and other articles of daily use, made in kind to employés and citizens of limited means, costs the State over seventy-six millions per annum. In view of the impoverished condition of the Treasury, the Directorate decides upon discontinuing this distribution on the 1st Ventôse following. It recommends to the legislative councils the truly poor and the fundholders.

The Directorate has been engaged in placing the Armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine in a condition to assume the offensive. Over 20,000 men collected in the interior by the military agents are on their way to fill the gaps in these armies. A couple of bridges have been thrown across the Moselle. Should the fifth campaign open, France will have never presented so great an array of forces.

The Directorate has instructed its Minister at Genoa to negotiate with the Government in view of obtaining that a French garrison shall be established at Savona. Battalions and provisions have been sent to the Army of Italy, thus enabling it to pursue its successes.

We sent a proclamation to the Western departments; 'tis a paternal yet severe one. It calls upon the residents of those localities to no longer heed the perfidious counsels of the Curé Bernier, of Stofflet, Sapinaud, Charette, and Du Jarry, who are naught but the country's enemies seeking to rekindle the torch of civil war. "These men, thirsting for plunder, are *émigrés*, priests, or nobles. They have already deceived you repeatedly, they are still deceiving you; 'tis the foreigner who seeks to divide France, to ruin, to destroy her; he invokes war and all the scourges likely to once more place you under the heavy yoke of the privileged classes."

CHAPTER IV

Reactions following upon the 9th Thermidor—Chambon's proclamation — Siméon — Jourdan—Noyer—Malijay—Cadroy—Illegal assemblages dissolved — Unanimity in the Directorate — Disturbances threatening — Is dependence to be placed on the general-in-chief of the Army of the Interior?—'Tis Bonaparte —I send for him—Where he is found—He reassures me—An attack on the clubs—Bonaparte's protestations—His victory—His report—Desirous of showing himself off—I give the matter my attention—An interesting episode—My unknown friends—"Courtiers of the plague"—Danton's *mot* on his elevation to the Ministry—Bonaparte seeks to set up as a man of importance —His flatteries, zeal, and activity — A clever policy—Some of his low intrigues—His ambition throws off the mask—Bonaparte's great propositions endorsed by me, and rejected by the Directorate—He does not acknowledge his defeat—"Women have their uses"—Mme. Beauharnais—Her lovers—Her plans in regard to Hoche; their fate—An aide-de-camp—Rose and Vanakre—The gallant ostler—Widows easily consoled—Mme. Tallien's beauty—Her supremacy—My connection with her—Her position — A parallel between Mme. Tallien and Mme. Beauharnais—Well-known *mot* on a strumpet—Mme. Beauharnais's connection with Mme. Tallien and myself—How she had treated her husband—Her odd tastes—Bonaparte's passion for her—Its source—To whom he first made advances, and how he was received—He seeks to captivate Mme. Beauharnais—How he goes about it—I banter him about his behavior—It becomes serious—Thouing and theeing—Bonaparte's respectful forms of speech towards me—I no longer "thou" him—He is displeased —Our agreement—His mistake in regard to Mme. Beauharnais's position—Luxury and indigence—Mme. Doué—The Fontainebleau coaches—The apprenticeship of Eugène and Hortense—All for dress—My advice on the marriage—A call from Mme. Beauharnais—The little "puss-in-boots"—Magnificent presents —Our conversation—The "enchantress"—A pathetic scene—

A sudden change — Yet another change — The virginity of a widow—Bonaparte falls into the trap—A plot—My confession—Bonaparte's philosophy in certain matters — He brings his betrothed to me — Closeted—Demonstrative allurements — I am no Joseph—Mrs. Potiphar—A kiss on the hand—Bonaparte's ruse to attain his end—Hannibal and Brennus; the geese of the Capitol—Adroit flattery—I again prefer his request—Visits—His interview with Carnot — His remarks about Schérer and Kellermann—Carnot well-disposed towards Bonaparte—I force a decision—Bonaparte appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy—His marriage and honey-moon—He harasses us—His exigencies—A word as to my conduct towards him—His rapid fortune — His respect for men, and the principles to which he owed everything—His bitter complaints against the Directorate—He makes an exception in my favor—I supply him with a fresh stock of furniture—He takes possession of my maps—Bonaparte's insolence towards his inferiors—My plans—Ceracchi's report — His imagination — I bring him and Bonaparte together at my dinner-table — A sudden friendship — Haller's letters — Murat recommended by Bonaparte for the command of the Directorate's guard—What he obtains—Did Bonaparte organize this guard?—He starts for Italy—The treasure he leaves to my care—I seek to bring my wife to Paris—She prefers her country home.

If the events preceding the 9th Thermidor were terrible, it cannot be denied that those subsequent to it were equally so; vindictiveness went perhaps to greater lengths. In the department of the Rhone and of the Var the Deputy Chambon considered himself very moderate when saying in his proclamations: "Leave to your magistrates the painful task of searching through the archives of crime, and pointing out surely to justice the scoundrels she is to smite. Suspend for a while your excusable impatience at the slowness of the forms to be observed." It remains to be added that the execution ever preceded these proclamations. When, after the 9th Thermidor, France had been sprinkled with

blood, in alleged expiation of that shed previously, did it behoove men who were only deputies in consequence of the reactionary movement to present to the Directorate complaints such as those made by the Deputies Siméon, Jourdan, Noyer, and Malijay, since their names were, moreover, coupled with that of Cadroy, the hideous executioner of the South?

While this was taking place in the South, the Ministers and administrations of Paris daily presented to the Directorate reports wherein they expressed their fears concerning the assemblies recently formed in the capital. On the one hand were foreigners daring to ignore the Constitution and the authorities established by it; on the other, the agrarian law and royalty were in turn upheld in these reunions. The Directorate decided upon closing all assemblies held in violation of the law. The Councils are informed of this decision by a message, which calls for repressive measures. A new Government cannot be too careful in discerning in sentiments, whatever form of expression may be given to them, those which are in conformity with the actual needs of the nation it is called upon to govern. From what we have been able to judge, we are justified in believing that the greater portion of the body social, the national class, is content with the Constitution of 1795; the other, small in numbers, is composed of royalists and malcontents, self-styled patriots. The Directorate can only see in these perturbators the enemies of the Republic. The meetings, the cessation of which we have temporarily ordered, are the Salon des Princes, the Sérilly reunion, the Club du Panthéon, the reunion of

Patriots in the Rue Traversière, the Société des Echecks, the theatre in the Rue Feydeau, the church of Saint-André-des-Arts.

8th Nivôse, Year IV.

I have already told both the friends and enemies of the Republic that its magistrates had so far been unanimous in their deliberations. They were again so completely when taking measures necessary to insure order. My colleagues addressing me specially said that it "would probably be necessary to show firmness shortly," and inquired of me "whether any dependence was to be placed on the General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior, who was suspected of having formerly had an understanding with Menou, while he was nowadays charged with showing favor to the meetings of anarchists, in particular that of the Panthéon?"

I reply to my colleagues that "Bonaparte, when acting as at present, doubtless believes he is carrying out the desires of the Directorate, and merely preserving the fruits of the victory of the 13th Vendémiaire; moreover, I will send for him, and notify him of the Directorate's orders."

I send one of my aides-de-camp in quest of Bonaparte, with orders to bring him into my presence at once. After some search, he is discovered at the house of Mme. Beauharnais, where he had been going for some time past to indulge in gallant discourse, which was to become later seriously meant. He makes his appearance; I tell him of the information which has reached the Directorate from several sources as to those gatherings, which in one way or the other seem to be held with designs opposed to the public peace.

Bonaparte replies to me that he had always kept

his eye on these reunions, as I could see from the daily reports he had been making to the Directorate; that he has attended some of them in order to become better acquainted with what went on in them, and that in all of them he has his own detectives. "All the better," I reply; "I am very glad to learn this from your lips; it will quiet the fears of the Directorate. It would nevertheless be preferable that the haunts of these idlers and perturbators should be closed; this must be done within the next twenty-four hours."

Bonaparte, hat in hand, said respectfully to me, "Citizen Director, your orders shall be carried out; everybody has now gone to bed, and the meetings are over, but I guarantee you that they shall not be held after to-morrow."

I settle with Bonaparte the distribution of the pickets to be placed at the different points where royalists and anarchists meet. I am of opinion that the mere display of force will suffice to prevent any resistance; that it will nevertheless be necessary to have a reserve force in the shape of a cannon loaded with blank cartridge; in front, a large quantity of drums; also guns loaded with ball, but only as a second reserve, to come forward in case of any rebellious movement. "I shall be there if necessary," I added, speaking to Bonaparte; "if you need support, my horses are ready saddled, and we will once more join forces."

Although in this instance the glory attendant upon a triumph was very slender, there is no doubt that Bonaparte was in nowise anxious to share it with anybody. He contented himself with assuring me how flattered he would be to give the Director-

ate a proof of his absolute devotion. Nothing could be more fortunate for him, with the prospect he had in view, and for the purpose of propping up the pretensions his ambition had already set up—pretensions that he proposed to strengthen by every possible means, as will be revealed shortly. Bonaparte punctually followed my instructions. The meeting-places of the several gatherings mentioned were closed, and the gatherings dispersed. General Bonaparte came to me in great haste for the purpose of presenting his report in the matter, most respectfully, and hat in hand, as usual; he was most desirous of appearing before the Directorate; I yielded to his desire, and showed the little general to advantage with sincere good-will.

All this took place early in Ventôse; this is the precise date to record an episode of paramount interest, owing to the immense importance it is about to acquire in the affairs of France, Europe, and the whole world—to wit, Bonaparte's accession to the command of the Army of Italy, an accession led up to by his marriage. All the circumstances connected with it are sufficiently fresh in my mind for me to feel sure that I am not altering a single one of them.

It may well be believed that on my attaining the highest power in France I was not forsaken by the persons of my social circle commonly known as friends, a qualification I have learned not to be prodigal of. If I state that immediately there flocked to the Luxembourg other friends, whom I had never seen nor even known, I am not, when recalling the fact, seeking to derive any pride therefrom. The homage was being done to power, and

in order that I should not lay any flattering unction to my soul on this score, I often called up to my mind the saying of the Englishman Gordon, who remarked that "if the plague had positions and money to bestow, it would be the first to have courtiers. . . ." I do not count as courtiers the genuine patriots who had endured so much for the sacred cause previous to the 13th Vendémiaire: many of them had even remained in durance vile subsequent to that date. My most pressing duty was to have the latter released, to give bread to those in want of it; but, at the same time, I more than once reprimanded and restrained the hot-headed ones, never hesitating to hunt down the enemies of order, as just shown by my closing the Panthéon. Among those whose patriotic titles most naturally insured them free admission into my house, by which I mean my new directorial residence, it may well be imagined that the most assiduous visitor was the young Corsican whom I had in days gone by welcomed with such happy results for himself. Moreover, his position as commander of the 17th Division gave him the right of primary and continual intercourse with us. Taking advantage of the moment of emotion which, consequent upon the 13th Vendémiaire, had accompanied our installation (for it might truly be said of us, as of Danton, that "we had been carried there by a cannon-ball"), Bonaparte begged me to impress on my colleagues the importance of his functions at so critical a juncture, adding that it was absolutely necessary that the military Governor of Paris should at all hours of the day and even night have the power of appearing before the Directorate for the

purpose of informing it of the state of affairs in the capital. I obtained the granting of his request, seemingly dictated by devotion to the Fatherland, and "to our persons representing it for the present," said Bonaparte to us, for his compliments always took this form—*i.e.*, they were direct and as personal as could be to those whom he addressed. Having once obtained the coveted *entrée*, one may be sure he did honor to it by his activity and zeal. 'Twas several times a day, and even at night, that reports on the state of Paris, the theatres, and public places of amusement poured in; it has already been shown how he enforced the singing of *La Marseillaise*, *Ça ira*, and *Veillons au salut de l'Empire*. Ever followed by the most valiant soldiers of the 13th Vendémiaire, who had been styled the Battalion of the Terrorists, he silenced the aristocrats and oftentimes played on them tricks of his own concoction. This power of communicating directly with the Directorate was for Bonaparte the means to another power, that of presenting himself at any and all hours, just as it suited him, in the closets of the Ministers, entering them almost with drums beating, as if coming on behalf of the Directorate, and, once there, imposing his will. Besides this, he was wont to meet at my house the same society he had previously become acquainted with; he displayed towards men as well as women a certain most skilful coquetry, the talisman of which, it is true, lay in the fact of his connection with power; in other words, he knew how to make the most of his intimacy with the Director.

Thus, the acquaintances made by Bonaparte both for the purpose of pleasure and gallantry were

already in his eyes no more than a means to the furtherance of his plans. The primary objects of his most assiduous attentions were those whom he believed had influence with me or my colleagues. On leaving my house he would call on them, always making a free use of my name, oftentimes with an indiscretion that his cunning could not cover up; his intrigues went so far as to give rise to unpleasant personal explanations among ourselves. In the midst of his vague and uncertain utterances, whose object was to conceal his ambitious aspirations, he suffered one day to let escape from his lips that he would like the command of an army. "Why not I as well as any other?" he said to me. "I am very young, but General Hoche is hardly any older, and he has now been a commander-in-chief for four years." "I will speak of it to my colleagues," I said to Bonaparte; "you have my promise"—and I at once kept my word.

My proposition was far from being favorably entertained at the outset. All the members of the Directorate, not excepting Carnot, raised objections. "There is no doubt," said the latter, "that ardor and youth are requisite to direct armies; but it also needs experience, maturity, and greater proof of capacity than that derived from having fired a few volleys of grapeshot in a civil war."

Bonaparte, in his haste to learn what success my proposition had met with, had quickly returned to me for news. It had been impossible for me to conceal the truth from him; but he would not admit defeat.

Bonaparte had heard me say, "Women have their uses in this world: they are more obliging

than men." He had noticed among the gentlewomen who called most frequently on me at the Luxembourg the widow Beauharnais, a woman of rather gentle manners, most kindly, and who occasionally conversed with me in more private fashion than did others. Mme. Beauharnais was reputed to have some influence with me; some there were who believed she had been my mistress; others that she still was. What is, however, certain, is that she had been the patient mistress, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world, of General Hoche, *e di tutti quanti.* It is not, therefore, to be said that she did not love General Hoche in preference to the others; this is readily to be conceived. He was our best soldier, and one of our handsomest men, and in build more like unto Hercules than Apollo. Whether from motives of ambition rather than love, since she deceived him like the rest, Mme. Beauharnais had pushed her pretensions on Hoche so far as to wish that he should secure a divorce in order that she might marry him; but a feeling of tender esteem bound Hoche to his young and virtuous spouse; he had perhaps neglected her connubially, but he had not forsaken and forgotten her for the sake of a passing gallantry, such as the one born of his chance meeting with Mme. Beauharnais in prison. He had consequently repulsed with horror this suggestion of divorce, saying in no uncertain tone to Mme. Beauharnais that "a man might for the time being indulge in having a trull as his mistress, but not for that take her unto himself as his lawful wife." Hoche had told me, somewhat indiscreetly perhaps, that Mme. Beauharnais, in order to win him over, had spoken to him of

interests of fortune and influence; that she could give him sure support with the new Government, particularly with one "over whom," she added, "she had a great ascendency." Proud Hoche had refused all these advantages, desirous as he was of owing his glory and fortune to his own efforts. Long before these discussions he had discovered that Mme. Beauharnais did not even respect the sentiment with which she seemed most penetrated, and that passion did not prevent her from entering upon all sorts of calculations, while not being at the same time a bar to any of the diversions of infidelity; he had repeatedly acquired the certainty of this, and in particular from one of his aides-de-camp, who, on the occasion of his being the bearer of a letter from him to Mme. Beauharnais, had been tempted by her, just as Joseph was by Mrs. Potiphar, but unlike Joseph he had not left his garment in her hand. General Hoche charged Mme. Beauharnais with less distinguished caprices, may I say it, and would it be believed, did not proof thereof lie in a letter written in General Hoche's own hand. "As to Rose" (Rose, one of the baptismal names of Mlle. Tascher-Lapagerie, was the one by which she was called among ourselves; Bonaparte has since substituted for it that of Joséphine, which he considered less familiar, less worn out by her antecedents, and more appropriate to a high destiny, just as he has since changed his name of Buonaparte into Bonaparte, then the name of Bonaparte into that of Napoleon, when he came to look upon it as more sonorous and high-sounding)—"as to Rose," wrote Hoche, "she must cease troubling me henceforth; I relinquish all claims to her in favor of Vanakre,

my hostler." This Vanakre was an Alsatian in charge of the stable, who, intrusted with the care of the horses of the general-in-chief, formed part of Hoche's escorts; this man, of colossal size and proportionate strength, had been the object of Mme. Beauharnais's special attention; she had even made him secret presents, such as her portrait encased in a gold medallion and a chain of the same precious metal. Both indignant and humiliated at such a division of favors, Hoche, seeking to justify his intercourse with Mme. Beauharnais, said to me one day, not without a certain kindliness, "It is due to my having been in prison with her previous to the 9th Thermidor that I knew her so intimately; such an intimacy would be unpardonable in a man restored to liberty."

This breaking off of Hoche's intercourse with her, and the *tutti quanti*, were in those days the talk of all Paris; and the Directorate had it on good authority, for Hoche was my friend and a frequent visitor to my house previous to his assuming his command, consequently the contemptuous words spoken by him to Mme. Beauharnais had many hearers, and even very indiscreet ones.

In the early days of the Directorate many gentlewomen, remarkable by their rank and beauty, flocked to its receptions, consequent upon revolutionary familiarity. The freedom of manners introduced since the 9th Thermidor in nowise ran counter to their dispositions and tastes. The necessity of attending to business matters during the absence of the *émigrés*, the duties imposed on them by their families, which these gentlewomen claimed to represent, constituted the excuse for their repeated ap-

plications, their right of *entrée*, and their natural passport. It is not for me to say whether they did other things than attend to the affairs of their families; but what is certain is that all these widows were, generally speaking, anything but disconsolate, and they declined none of the diversions that might be offered them.

Amid all these gentlewomen, one, whose charms undoubtedly entitled her to be classed in the first rank of objects worthy of admiration, attracted universal attention. This was Mme. Tallien, who, since the 9th Thermidor, had shown herself in all public places, even at the theatres, winning undisputed supremacy over her sex. She was the feminine dictator of beauty. As I was one of those who had been instrumental in saving her life previous to the 9th Thermidor, I had remained on a footing of intimacy with her, not to be interrupted by my accession to the Directorate. Those who in all the relations of life consider only the means which can procure them access to those in power, believed that Mme. Tallien, having possibly granted certain favors, consequently exercised a certain sway over me, and appealed to her, some under the cloak of passion, others under that of devotion, friendship, enthusiasm, or admiration. Mme. Tallien did not abuse this position to any too great extent, seeking, it is true, in all this a happy way of supplementing her fortune, a very small one at the time, and one she was compelled to share with her husband, who possessed none, either because he had earned little money, or from the reason that he had devoured it quickly. Mme. Tallien might therefore busy herself in good earnest to pick up the money

she judged necessary for her maintenance; but it must be admitted that money, in the case of Mme. Tallien, was not the main object, but the means of obtaining the pleasures she was fond of or which she procured for others. I must in this connection point out a distinction which the acquaintances of Mme. Tallien and Mme. Beauharnais agreed in establishing between these two gentlewomen, to wit, that the liaisons of Mme. Tallien were for her genuine enjoyments, to which she brought all the ardor and passion of her temperament. As for Mme. Beauharnais, it was the general belief that her relations, even with the men whose physical advantages she best appreciated, were not as generous as those of Mme. Tallien. Even although the physical appeared to be with Mme. Beauharnais the origin of her relations, determined by an involuntary impulse, her libertinism sprang merely from the mind, while her heart played no part in the pleasures of her body; in a word, never loving except from motives of interest, the lewd creole never lost sight of business, although those possessing her might suppose she was conquered by them and had freely given herself. She had sacrificed all to sordid interests, and, as was said of a disreputable woman who had preceded her in this kind of turning matters to account, "she would have drunk gold in the skull of her lover." When compared to Mme. Tallien, it did not seem possible that Mme. Beauharnais could enter into competition with her in the matter of physical charms. Mme. Tallien was then in the height of her freshness; Mme. Beauharnais was beginning to show the results of precocious decrepitude. There is nothing exaggerated in these

words for those who saw her at short range, and who were cognizant of the fact that she derived none of her attractions from nature, but everything from art—the most refined, the most provident, the most improved art ever called into requisition in the exercise of their profession by the harlots of Greece and of Paris. Mme. Beauharnais believed she could make up for and surpass what she lacked in actual advantages in comparison with Mme. Tallien by consummate cunning and artifice. Doubtless neither of them yielded each other the palm in the matter of all developments of means to render themselves attractive. In this respect they seemed, so to speak, to be waging a mutual war, even when they were actually sharing each other's triumphs; but he who believed that they were a couple of sultanas of equal standing was liable to find out his mistake. One of them was certainly invalided and retired when the other still reigned supreme. The former, frankly resigning herself to her position, naturally enough showed herself accommodating to the other; and without my appearing to fully understand her, she had begun to play this part in most clever style. Thus it was that, having failed in her efforts to supplant Mme. Tâllien, she hoped to retain the means of being present at the receptions of the Directorate, where it might be possible for her to be fortunate enough to meet somebody who might help her to retrieve her fortune, the sole object of her thoughts. It was a known fact that Mme. Tallien braved her husband to a certain extent, when she wished to love another than him, but she preserved some decorum, and had not yet parted company with him. Mme. Beau-

harnais was more advanced. She claimed in those days to be the noble widow of the illustrious General Alexandre Beauharnais, who had been the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Rhine; but the fact is that long before the death of the illustrious general, and even previous to the Revolution, she had been separated from her husband, at whose hands she had incurred reproaches similar to those addressed to her subsequently by General Hoche. It was even said that the infidelities of the creole had overstepped the bounds of propriety, and that, rising superior to the prejudice existing against a dark skin, she had had intercourse with negroes.

Bonaparte, who knew of all these adventures just as well as we did, had often heard the story of them told in my presence; but in consequence of his intention, not to say his frenzy, to reach his goal by all possible means, he had looked upon the two gentlewomen whom I mention as means he should turn to his advantage; and whether it was that Mme. Tallien's beauty had, at the same time, captivated him, or whether he believed, as reputed, that she possessed greater influence than Mme. Beauharnais, it was to Mme. Tallien that he in the first place addressed his vows and respectful attentions. This was soon followed by a declaration of what he called his unconquerable passion. Mme. Tallien replied to the little enamoured Corsican in a contemptuous fashion, which left him no hope. She went so far as to say to him ironically that "she believed she had something better than he. . . ." After such a defeat Bonaparte considered that, beaten in one direction, he might do better in another, so he conceived the idea of paying his court

to Mme. Beauharnais; and as he had some knowledge of her interested character and her cupidity, the prominent features of which he was acquainted with, he bethought himself of opening the door with the key that never finds any closed. He therefore began to make to Mme. Beauharnais presents which suited her tastes in matters of dress and her courtesan's jewelry. Not only did he give her shawls and expensive and elegant jewelry, but diamonds of considerable value. This would have constituted an act of madness had it not been one of speculation. Something of this came to my ears, so censuring the young man, however unamiable a personage he might be, of subjecting himself to the necessity of beginning by paying an old woman, I said to Bonaparte, "It seems that you have taken la Beauharnais for one of the soldiers of the 13th Vendémiaire, whom you should have included in the distribution of money. You would have done better to have sent this money to your family, which needs it, and to whom I have just rendered further assistance."

Bonaparte blushed, but did not deny having made presents of considerable value. As I was bantering him about his generosity, wherein I pretended to see the effects of a boundless passion, he himself began to laugh, and said to me: "I have not made presents to my mistress; I have not sought to seduce a virgin; I am one of those who prefer love ready made, than to make it myself.... Well then, in whichever state Mme. Beauharnais may be, if the relations between us were seriously meant, if the presents which you blame me for having made were wedding presents, what then would you have to find

fault with, citizen Director? 'This woman whom you accuse,' said Tallien, after the 9th Thermidor, 'this woman is mine!' I do not intend to give you absolutely the same answer just now, but I might say to you: Were this woman to become mine, what would be the objection thereto?" "I have no objection to make; still, it is a matter deserving some thought."

At the time of the siege of Toulon, "theeing and thouing" had taken the place of *you*, from the soldier to the general and from the general to the soldier. Hence it was that I had acquired the habit of "theeing and thouing" Bonaparte. I owe it to him to say that he never adopted this form of address, and that he ever preserved an attitude of respect and obedience. "Citizen representative," he would say, "I take the liberty, or, I have the honor of informing you. . . ." On his being appointed general-in-chief, I thought it due to the dignity of his rank not to "thee and thou" him any longer; he complained to me of this in a friendly and pained way. "Well then," I replied, "console thyself; I will contrive to 'thee and thou' you, but on condition of your doing the same." I considered that a respectable citizen is the equal of all others, and I sought to still further heighten the honor of his command. But, on this occasion, after having remained silent for a while, I said to Bonaparte as familiarly as heretofore: "Is it seriously meant, what thou hast just told me? I have just thought over thy idea of marriage, and it seems less ridiculous to me than at first sight." "In the first place, Mme. Beauharnais is rich," answered Bonaparte, with vehemence. He had been deceived by the

JOSEPHINE

From a Drawing by Isabey.

(1798.)

From the Collection of Edmond Taigny.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY
NY

lady's external luxury, ignorant of the fact that the unfortunate creature depended for her existence on loans contracted in Paris, on the imaginary credit of her property in Martinique, which she was far from possessing, since her mother still lived; and, as the latter troubled herself very little about her daughter, whose dissoluteness she was acquainted with, she contented herself with sending her a meagre allowance, which she had of late cut down and even suspended remitting, owing to a series of poor harvests. The widow Beauharnais lived at Fontainebleau in a state bordering on misery. The greater part of the year she quartered herself on Mme. Doué, a creole like herself, without whose relief she would have lacked the first necessaries. She would come to Paris by the public stage-coach (*petites voitures*); her daughter Hortense was apprenticed to a dress-maker, and her son to a carpenter; this was either very philosophical or very unmotherly of her, for she could find means for her toilette, which, at all periods, was ever that of a courtesan. "Well," said I to Bonaparte, "since you are seriously asking my advice, I will answer you in your own words; why should I not? Your brother Joseph has shown you the way to marriage; the X—— dowry has put an end to his financial straits. You tell me you are at your wits' end for money, and that you cannot afford to lose any more time over the matter; well then, marry; a married man has a standing in society, and can better resist the attacks of his enemies; you think that you have many of them among the Corsicans; if you have luck, you will make friends of them, beginning with Saliceti, whom you dread. There is noth-

ing like success to win over everybody to one's side."

A few days later it was Mme. Beauharnais's turn to come and confide in me. Actuated as she was by motives of interest, she did not display any reserve in confessing them to me at the very outset of her visit; she began by laying down in most plain terms that no impulse of the heart was at the bottom of this new bond; that little "puss-in-boots" is assuredly the very last she could have dreamed of loving, as he had no expectations, she says. He belongs to a family of beggars, which has failed to win respect wherever it has dwelt; but he has a brother who has married well at Marseilles, who promises to help the others, him personally. He seems enterprising, and guarantees he will soon carve his fortune. Mme. Beauharnais confesses to me that he has made her presents of a magnificence which has led her to believe that he is possessed of greater means than people wot of. "As regards myself," she says to me, "I have not seen fit to inform him of my straitened circumstances; he believes I am now in the enjoyment of a certain fortune, and is under the impression that I have great expectations over in Martinique. Do not impart to him anything you know, my good friend; you would be spoiling everything. Since I do not love him, you can understand my going into the business; 'tis you I will ever love, you may depend on it. Rose will always be yours, ever at your disposal, you have only to make a sign; but I know full well that you no longer love me," she proceeded, suddenly bursting into a flood of tears, which she had the power of summoning at pleasure;

"this is what grieves me most; never shall I console myself for it, do what I may. When one has loved a man like you, Barras, can one ever know another attachment?" "How about Hoche?" I replied, with very little emotion, and almost laughing; "you loved him above all others, and yet there was the aide-de-camp, Vanakre, *e tutti quanti!* . . . Come now, you are a mighty fine *cajoler*." This was the mildest and truest word that could be spoken to her; to cajole all who came in contact with her was the trade of Mme. Beauharnais, a veritable *chevalier d'industrie*, so to speak, in town and at Court, from the day she had been imported from her island of Martinique into France. My answer took her breath away, and unable to utter any reply in the face of such positive facts, she contented herself with shedding some more tears, seizing my hands with all her might and carrying them to her eyes, so as to bedew them with her tears. I was getting tired of this scene, and not knowing how to put an end to it, I adopted the course of ringing, so as to have my valet as a third party. This compelled her to cease; Mme. Beauharnais was a true actress, who knew how to play several parts at one and the same time. She told my valet that she had suddenly felt poorly, that her nerves troubled her, and that on such occasions she could not hold back her tears; that I had just ministered to her as a brother would to his sister, and that she now felt a great deal better. I took advantage of this improvement to order my carriage, to send Mme. Beauharnais home in it, and thus I was rid of her. "In your indisposed state, you cannot return home alone," I said to her. I ordered one

of my aides-de-camp to accompany her. Her tears had suddenly dried up; her features, so discomposed but a moment ago, had resumed their placidity and pretty ways, and their habitual coquettishness. On returning, my aide-de-camp told me that the lady had reached her house in excellent health. A few sighs had escaped her during the drive homeward, and the only words spoken by her had been, "Why do people have a heart over which they have no control? Why did I ever love a man like Barras? How can I cease loving him? How can I tear myself from him? How can I ever think of any other but him? Tell him from me, I entreat you, how deeply I am devoted to him, that I will never love but him, whatever happens to me in this world. . . ."

My aide-de-camp further informed me that just as the carriage reached Mme. Beauharnais's house Bonaparte was there waiting for her at the door. Embarrassed at being accompanied by my aide-de-camp, Mme. Beauharnais hurriedly steps out of the carriage, asks Bonaparte to give her his arm, and tells him hastily in the presence of my aide-de-camp, whom she calls to witness, that she had just "had a fainting fit at my house; that she had so suffered that I would not hear of her returning home alone, that she had hardly recovered her strength. Give Barras my best thanks," she adds, on dismissing my aide-de-camp, "and tell him that you left me with his best friend."

My best friend was there waiting impatiently to learn the result of the step he had been the first to advise. Everything had been fully concerted between the pair, but each of them was vying in

deceiving the other, with astounding readiness. The following is an illustration of the way in which they played their farce. As a consequence of having told Bonaparte of her alleged indisposition, it was necessary to give some reason for this indisposition to the man who was about to become her protector for life. I heard, some time afterwards, of the story the cajoling courtesan had invented. According to her, I had for a long while courted her without success; she had constantly repulsed my advances, because I was not the man to appeal to her so delicate soul. In consequence of her harsh treatment of me, I had sought to console myself with Mme. Tallien, whom I had selected out of spite only, remaining attached to her out of *amour-propre* alone; and I so little cared for her, she went on to say, that I had offered to give her up at once for Mme. Beauharnais, if the latter would become my mistress; were she to be believed, I had been more pressing than ever on this last occasion, and my violence had led to a struggle, during the course of which she had fainted; but the recollection of the one she loved, the mere thought of Bonaparte, had restored all her strength to her, and she had come out victorious, desirous of bringing to the near bond to which she had given her consent all the purity of a widow faithful to the memory of her husband, and a virginity often more precious than the first, since it represents a resolution of the heart and the will of reason.

Bonaparte listened, with no small emotion, to this lying concoction, worthy, indeed, of the most artful of women, but whom he, artful as he was himself, looked upon as an angel of candor and

truth. All this made such an impression on him that he flew into a passion against me, ready, in his fury, to go to extremes, even to call me out for having attempted an assault on the virtue of his future wife. Mme. Beauharnais quieted him with caresses and words, which plainly showed that she dreaded nothing so much as a scandal which would have revealed the secret of the comedy played by her, and proved besides that, so far from my seeking to do violence to Mme. Beauharnais, I was long since tired of and bored with her. "I am quite sure," said Bonaparte to her, "from what you tell me, that Barras failed in his attempts on your virtue, Madame, in spite of his not having the reputation of a sentimental lover in the habit of sighing at the feet of cruel beauties. But, I have for so long seen you on a certain intimate footing with him, that doubts might truly have arisen in any other mind than mine; you will admit, Madame, that it is allowable to think, without showing one's self too severe, that women seeking to hold him at arm's-length should at least take earlier steps, so as not to be exposed to a scene like the one you have just told me of. There are accidents for which a woman is responsible, when she has not taken means to prevent them."

It would be thought that Mme. Beauharnais would have been abashed by such excellent reasoning, but it will be seen what ruses were at the service of the courtesan. "Why," she argued, "had she not called at Barras's house would she have been fortunate enough to meet Bonaparte? If she had of late gone there more frequently than before, had it not always been from a desire to meet

him more often? If she had perchance overlooked many things repugnant to the elegance and delicacy of her morals, would she ever have done so had it not been for the consideration, ever present to her mind, of rendering some service to her future husband? For, when all is said and done, if Barras's manners are somewhat rough and outspoken, he is, on the other hand, a good sort of fellow, and very obliging; he is a true friend, and if once he takes an interest in you, you may feel sure he will not desert you, but give you a warm support. Let us, therefore, take men and things as we find them. Can Barras be useful to us in his position? Undoubtedly he can, and to good purpose. Let us, therefore, get all we can out of him, and never mind the rest!"

"Oh!" exclaimed Bonaparte with enthusiasm, "if he will but give me the command of the Army of Italy, I will forgive everything. I will be the first to show myself the most grateful of men; I will do honor to the appointment, and our affairs will prosper; I guarantee that ere long we shall be rolling in gold."

Later on, taking a higher stand-point, Bonaparte has called this glory. But "gold" was the naïve expression uttered in the presence of the woman he considered a meet person to become his partner in life; quite independent of his personal need and desire of making a fortune, the artful Corsican had guessed aright that the means of winning Josephine was money. He had begun his success by giving her presents; this success was assured when he promised that he would make her "roll in gold, were he but commander-in-chief." "Let us work together,"

they thereupon said mutually; "let us keep our secret to ourselves, act together, and do our best to obtain the appointment promptly."

Shall I confess it? Yes, I will confess it, since I am writing my Memoirs, without having given them the ostentatiously modest title of confessions. I have said, as much as a Frenchman brought up according to the principles of chivalry may reveal of such matters, that I had certainly enjoyed certain intimate relations, bygone, it is true, but none the less most real, with Mme. Beauharnais. There is little pride on my part, some would say a great deal of modesty, in this revelation. There, nevertheless, resulted therefrom a situation such as could not escape the notice of persons acquainted with my inner life. Thus Mme. Beauharnais was generally pointed out as one of my first liaisons, while Bonaparte, who was a frequent visitor to my house, was one of those who could the least be ignorant as to how matters stood; but it would seem that in the matter which profoundly stirs ordinary men he was deeply indifferent, and rose superior to all such considerations. Thus, at the time he was paving the way for his union with Mme. Beauharnais, when he could not possibly believe that everything was over between us, it was he himself who brought his future wife to me at the Directorate; she was already helping him in business matters, as she had helped him towards his promotion. As he perpetually had something to ask of me, he thought to appear less of a petitioner by getting her to do the soliciting. Mme. Beauharnais having on several occasions expressed a desire not to speak to me in the presence of others, would make no ceremony about asking

me to go into my private office with her alone. Bonaparte would wait for her in the *salon*, and engage in conversation with those present. One day Mme. Beauharnais wished to speak with me more privately than usual; our interview lasted far longer than suited me. She spoke to me with the effusion of the tender feeling she said she had always experienced towards me, one which her projected union could not make her renounce. Straining me to her bosom, she upbraided me for no longer loving her, again and again saying to me that I was the man whom she had loved more than any other, and that she could not tear herself away from me just as she was about to become the wife of the "little general."

Shall I go further in my confession? All that the most daring men venture towards women, in the decisive moments of their gallantry, she attempted towards me. I was almost in the same position as Joseph when face to face with Mrs. Potiphar. I should, nevertheless, be lying did I pretend to have been so cruel as the young minister of Pharaoh. The consequences of my weakness left no equivocal traces to the eyes of those persons who saw me come out of my private office with Mme. Beauharnais, not without some embarrassment on my part. What would have added to it considerably, had not an impression of disgust been paramount at the time, was to see Bonaparte at once come to meet her, and far from complaining of anything, on the contrary, take her hand and kiss that hand with an air of passionate respect. . . . Thereupon, there and then, Bonaparte, a prey to an impatience he could not restrain, began speaking to her about the matter

which had afforded the pretext of her interview with me, either to make a cloak of it, or because the matter exclusively and really filled his mind. There's the man who wishes to reach his goal! He neither looks around nor lets petty circumstances disturb him. Such cares are reserved for vulgar souls. . . .

Mme. Beauharnais replies that it is time to bestir themselves, and in several directions at one and the same time. She is going to get my aide-de-camp, my secretary, and several deputies, whom I seem to think well of, to use their influence with me. As for Bonaparte, he undertakes to address himself to me directly, and to speak to me in such a way as to reach me. He had known me from the time of the siege of Toulon actively engaged in the affairs of the Army of Italy. Bonaparte, who was in those days close to my person, remembered having heard me speak frequently of the resources I was cognizant of which would enable the French Republic to put an end to the war on that part of the frontier. Brennus and Hannibal had often furnished in his presence a theme for conversation which he had not allowed to drop, and I had said jokingly that the new Brennus would not meet the ancient senators of Rome, much less the geese of the Capitol; that there existed no new Fabius to repulse Hannibal. All these conversations, still present to my memory, were so many texts which he was going to recall to me once more, while giving me credit for them all. To reach my *amour-propre*, he would be content to be naught but the representative and executor of my own ideas.

It is effectively with these speeches (the premed-

itation of which Mme. Beauharnais subsequently revealed, when desirous of proving that she owed nothing to Bonaparte, but that he owed her everything, especially his first elevation) that he approaches me, and I am bound to admit that, although generally on my guard against flattery, I was perhaps not sufficiently so on this occasion. Moreover, I was absorbed by all my reflections, by the knowledge of the localities and the forces opposed to us in this quarter, by the knowledge that this was the coalition's most vulnerable point, if we but resolved upon fighting it there with the revolutionary daring which had succeeded in so prodigious a manner in other directions—in the Pyrenees, in the North, and on the Rhine. On Bonaparte coming to me, and in so clever a fashion falling in with the idea that had ever been in my mind, I was deeply touched with the hope of having at my disposal a man whose capacity did not appear inferior to me to a great plan, such as the invasion of Italy, and one whose activity would equal his daring. To all this must be added that Bonaparte was one of those men who, in the matter in question, had no more to lose here than on the 13th Vendémiaire, but who, on the contrary, had everything to gain. "I must nevertheless confess," I said to Bonaparte, "that I was completely defeated the first time I proposed you as general-in-chief; but I spoke without having the opportunity of mentioning any special command; we now have one to offer you, one which will materially stimulate my efforts, as I have long had it in my mind. I will board the ship to-morrow, and make the formal request that you be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of

Italy. Between now and to-morrow there is time for you to see Carnot and even our remaining colleagues. Without asking anything of Carnot, you can tell him all you know about matters Italian, and prove to him that you know that field of battle by heart: leave the rest to me."

Bonaparte lost no time in calling on my colleagues, especially Carnot. He spoke to him with feeling about the condition of the Army of Italy, in regard to which he had excellent information from an authoritative source. All the information he possessed was that which he had just derived from me. He charged Schérer, then in command, with being either a fool or a traitor. "He was," he said, "an old braggart, who could no longer mount his horse." The truth is that Schérer was already an old man, and very stout; but, although undoubtedly less active than in the heyday of his youth, he was in nowise a fool or a traitor. He had estranged many military men by his sound ideas of reform, which he had embodied in his orders. His labors as inspector will ever remain models of perfection, worthy of being consulted.

Having so traduced Schérer, whom he was aspiring to supplant, Bonaparte, fearing that his command might be given to Kellermann, then with the Army of the Alps, turned his attention to that unfortunate general, and spared no efforts to demonstrate that he was a mere cipher, and that the winner of Valmy was at most fit to review the troops about to be despatched to Italy.

Carnot listened with interested attention to the words of our young Corsican, and, hearing him adduce reasons justified by an inspection of the map,

and indorsed by recent views, received from the Army of Italy, the director was unwittingly induced to admit and condemn the incapacity of the two generals in command in that direction. From that time forward Carnot showed less objection to the age and person of the man whose appointment he had at first peremptorily set aside, without leaving me any hope of his changing his mind.

On the following day, the news received from the Army of Italy being naturally the first to come under discussion, I took the floor in order to lay before my colleagues our unfortunate situation on this portion of the frontier, demonstrating that it was not possible that the salvation of the Republic should be left in the feeble hands to which it was now intrusted, that youth, activity, daring, and again daring were required; I suggested that the chief command of the Army of Italy be given to General Bonaparte, at present General-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior; born a Corsican, a highlander, accustomed from his birth to scale mountains, he possessed in the first rank the faculties required to carry on this kind of warfare in Italy; he knew the country, and no one was better fit than he to lift the army out of the state of lethargy in which it had for so long a time been allowed to slumber. Carnot did not speak in support of my recommendation, but seconded it, so Bonaparte was appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy on 14th Ventôse, Year IV. the 14th Ventôse, Year IV. On the 19th of the same month (corresponding to the 9th of March, 1796) he married Mme. Beauharnais at the Municipality of the 2d *arrondissement* of Paris.

Bonaparte remains in the capital for the next

twelve[1] days, during which, I must do him the justice of saying that his honey-moon does not seem to take up all his time. He is busy harassing the Directorate and the Ministers with demands for men, money, and clothing. He is granted everything imaginable, even much more than the feeble means of the Republic justify. All his requests granted, he prefers fresh ones, is ever grumbling, and takes his departure remarking crossly: "Since everything is denied me, I must fain learn to do without it. I must now ask of the enemy what I need; the enemy will be more generous in consequence of the methods I will pursue."

If the narrative of the particulars I have just made known may be considered somewhat indiscreet, according to our French ideas, concerning women, I might justify it by saying that I have not revealed anything that was already not fully known from all contemporary histories. All are united in stating the fact that this period of Bonaparte's career, like so many others, was naught but an intrigue and cold calculation. When revealing the part I played in the drama, it seems to me that I am perhaps entitled to some indulgence. Besides the fact that nothing in all this was of my conception, if I so ingenuously disclose my connection with it, some thanks are due to the man who has sacrificed everything to truth, while fully aware that the accommodating spirit and easy-going way he may have displayed in the matter are not undeserving of some

[1] The text says *douze jours*. As a matter of fact, Bonaparte left Josephine *two* days after the wedding. On the 14th of March we find him writing to her during a change of horses at Chanceaux, confirming a previous letter written to her from Châtillon.—Translator's note.

censure. I have not written these Memoirs to make myself appear any better than I really was, still less to show that I was impeccable or ever forgot the strict attention incumbent upon the duties of a chief magistracy. There is in our public, as in our private life, far more impulse than appears at first sight. Coldly calculating spirits turn this disposition to good account; all the more reason, it will be rightly objected to me, to be on one's guard against them.

The Revolution found Bonaparte a sub-lieutenant of artillery. Whatever amount of talents and intrigue one may grant him, he would after long years of waiting have reached the rank of captain, perhaps that of lieutenant-colonel, while here we find him in a few brief moments major, *chef de brigade*, brigadier-general, general of division, and general-in-chief. Here he is, in consequence of his generalship, married to a woman who, although not of very high birth, was nevertheless, owing to her previous marriage, brought in contact with the nobility and the Court. Bonaparte's even avowed ambition did not aspire that high, since he had in vain sought to marry the daughter of X——, the soap-dealer of Marseilles and Genoa, and the only answer vouchsafed him had been: "We have already quite enough with one Bonaparte in the family." Like Lucien, who had only married the daughter of the innkeeper Boyer by means of a bit of shabby trickery, Bonaparte would have been only too glad to contract a similar alliance, for his father-in-law would at least have given him in his house, as in the case of Lucien, the very bread he had not, for, being without any position, he had no means. Far from me to throw in Bonaparte's teeth the baseness of

his origin, and to disregard the fact that he who at the outset of his career was furthest from the goal is the one who deserves all the more credit for having been the first to reach it; but, after all, without seeking to subtract what the reward of talent can place in the scales side by side with ability, I nevertheless am fully entitled to place on record to whom Bonaparte was on this occasion indebted for everything that is to fall to his lot.

The Revolution lifts him out of abject misery; it is hardly to be suspected that after that he can be anything but respectful and grateful to this Revolution, which is for him the source of his welfare and elevation. It will be seen subsequently what are the gratitude and respect shown by Bonaparte to the men as well as to the things he owes his whole position to.

And yet the defenders of Bonaparte, or rather those who have clumsily said or believed they were such, have stated that he deeply regretted the siege of Toulon and the 13th Vendémiaire, because of the revolutionary coat of varnish it might throw over his person. I have proved that on both these occasions he had far less to reproach himself with than is generally expressed by those who argue "that he did everything that was done," and that his part was but a secondary one; I readily conceive that the man who spent his life in seeking to conceal or bury deep his origin, should give anything to destroy the traces of his *Souper de Beaucaire*, of his Jacobinism at Valence and at Marseilles, of his servile devotion to the Army of Italy previous to being its master, of his ultra-revolutionary severity at Toulon, and of his no less determined attitude in Paris on the 13th Vendémiaire.

We have seen how Bonaparte, boldly preferring requests on the eve of his departure, was already discontented with, nay, almost insulting to the Directorate, from which he craftily sought to separate me, saying to me: "Well, if they are niggards, you at any rate have ever acted and will ever act generously towards me." The oily-tongued wheedler had something further to ask of me. I had caused the ministerial departments to supply him with the things within their respective attributes. All was fish that came to his net: besides money, he wanted carriages, horses, harness of all kinds—in short, various articles hardly in military use, and which he could not take with him. All this was, doubtless, for his wife, who was not going to accompany him, and who, familiar of old with these tactics, knew how to coin money. I possessed the best maps in existence of all the theatres of war in Europe; in the case of Italy some of them were manuscript; at the time of my first entertaining the idea of going through that country in the Year II., I had marked on them reconnaissances, several positions, and all the roads by which Italy was accessible. Bonaparte, who had formerly seen them in my hands, asked me to let him see them once more, and, on my showing them to him, he said, jokingly: "Oh, as to these, they belong to me; I am going to poach on your preserves." I replied in the same strain: "Take them, and come back with a well-filled bag; you will then return them to me." I have never had in this connection any proof of his having any memory. The general, and specially the emperor, found it easy to forget small services and even benefits, just as Louis XII. was wont to say that the

king should forgive offences committed against the Duc d'Orléans.

But if Bonaparte had excellent reasons for accepting my maps of Italy, or rather for taking them ere I had given them to him, I still possessed other maps which did not afford him any pretext for begging them of me. These were most valuable maps of India, recently made by the English, who were far in advance of us in the matter of researches concerning these lands. I was indebted for these maps to the special friendship of officials who had occupied the highest positions in India. Several of them were also manuscript. Bonaparte intimated to me that he would greatly like to have them for the purpose of consulting them. Of course he would return them to me. "But," I said to him, "you are not yet off for India. Why, you must be entertaining some very far-off designs." His sole answer was a laugh, but, on taking charge of my maps, he at once handed them to an aide-de-camp whom he summoned, and whom he was keeping waiting in my ante-chamber, in company of my servants, thus preluding to his future insolence. Such was the fate of my precious maps, which I called my *Indiennes* (my Indian girls). I have since tried in vain to procure duplicates of them from England, and by writing direct to India for them; I have never been fortunate enough to replace them.

It was not sufficient for him to possess my maps; he asked me for all the plans that might have been intrusted to me personally; he had already caused to be delivered to him all those in the possession of the ministerial and war departments, and he had

brutally selected these, from all suiting him, without giving any receipts therefor. Among the most interesting documents I showed Bonaparte, I have been able to find again one, upon which he pounced greedily, making a copy of it with his own hand; it will be found interesting even nowadays, because of its author and the ideas it embodies. It is from the hand of the celebrated Ceracchi, the first sculptor of his time, Canova not excepted. Ceracchi had held several conversations with Carnot and myself on Italy's position with reference to the French Republic. While doing justice to the purity of his patriotism and the soundness of his opinions, we had thought proper to express certain objections to them, which, while forestalling his replies, should allow us all the more to relish his ideas. These were doubtless very ardent, but this was no reason for us to feel intimidated at them; we were a long way off from that. I allowed Bonaparte to take a copy of Ceracchi's plan of campaign; it was one that suited full well his enterprising character. I do not believe I am here alleging that it was Ceracchi who made the Italian campaign, nor that Bonaparte could either have understood or conceived it of himself. The cerebral agitation which has ever governed his actions has produced incontestable results; they have demonstrated that he was one of the men most capable of efforts most fortunate in their results, as well as of the most deplorable errors of the imagination. But, when reading once more today these pages of Ceracchi, rapidly jotted down after his conferences with Carnot and myself, I am even now altogether dumfounded at the extent to which soul can take the place of talent with those

who possess one. Bonaparte seemed no less struck with the daring, clear, and expressive views these pages embodied in regard to the political and military course France should adopt in dealing with Italy. He begged me to bring about an interview between their author and himself. I invited him to meet Ceracchi at my dinner-table, and thus they became acquainted. Bonaparte led him on to talk a good deal, and could not tear himself away from him; he spoke to him now in Italian, now in French, saying to me, when I heard them speaking the former language, that Italian, which has been called the language of love, was likewise that of friendship.

Later on will be seen Bonaparte's friendship for Ceracchi, just as for so many others he met, and who rendered him services which were stepping-stones to his ambition.

Bonaparte also obtained from me all our correspondence in regard to Italy, and notably letters from Haller containing most valuable information; he will know how to derive as much advantage from them as the author himself, whom he will attach to his suite as financial agent the moment he reaches Italy.

23d Ventôse, Year IV.—At last the general of the Army of Italy is off to take up his command. He leaves Paris on the 23d Ventôse, and, on leaving, has no hesitation in intrusting to me "what is dearest, that priceless treasure" he has just acquired by the municipal deed registered at the 2d *arrondissement* of the city of Paris a few days before. In spite of what Mme. Beauharnais may have said to him before the wedding-day of

my alleged gallant attempts on her virtue, and of her merciless resistance thereto, he sees fit to intrust this interesting woman to me, and even place her under my protection. He further gives proof of the regard he entertains for me by expressing himself as persuaded that should she stand in need of anything, it is I who will come to her assistance. Nevertheless, she requires nothing just at present, he tells me, as he has left her sufficient funds to go on with until such time as she is to join him in Italy.

At the time of the installation of the Directorate, we received repeated requests from Murat, then a cavalry major, that he be given the command of our guard. Bonaparte was the first to propose him to us; although we had as yet no misgivings in regard to the pair of them, still it was plain that Murat, being one of his adherents, Bonaparte was desirous of attaching him to our body, in order that he might be master of all access to the Directorate. Although such a suspicion did not precisely enter Rewbell's mind, still he said, speaking on general principles, something akin to it: "The Directorate should choose of its own volition the military men who are to be attached to its service." In spite of his reiterated requests, and all the Republican testimonials he produced in support of them, he was ordered to join the Army of Italy, to be attached to General Bonaparte's staff. I cannot allow this circumstance to pass, recalling as it does to me the early days of the Directorate, without flatly contradicting one of Bonaparte's pretensions. He has dared to claim that it was he who, following upon the 13th Vendémiaire, had organized both the guard

of the Directorate and that of the Legislature. He might assuredly have done so in view of the continual intercourse which the command of the Army of the Interior brought him into with us, and the elements it might offer us, but the fact is as false as so many others the honor of which Bonaparte has sought to appropriate. The Guard of the Legislature was organized by the members of the Committees of Public Safety and of General Security, which were still in existence and were in the habit of consulting me. The Guard of the Directorate was organized by ourselves, and our refusal to accept Murat proves that our instinct was in accord with reflection.

Although Memoirs confer the right—nay, impose the duty—to withhold nothing of one's private life, and not to conceal it under the pretext of public life, I have made only passing mention in my narrative of the fact of my being married. One may have forgotten it, in the midst of my turbulent life, just as I may seem to have forgotten it myself, when I am giving particulars savoring rather of bachelor life. Without seeking to justify myself entirely, and give myself absolution because I have confessed, I may here declare that these diversions, perhaps somewhat compulsory, of a deeply agitated existence, were not always to my taste, and that my soul may have beforehand made me some of the reproaches which have subsequently not been spared me.

Desirous of placing my directorial position on a more regular footing, and of resuming all the gravity appertaining to a high magistracy, I would very much have liked to have near me my wife, whom I

had married in 1791. I had spent but a few days with her after our wedding, and the events which had separated us had not made me lose the recollection of her good qualities. Although she had never visited Paris, in order to assume its elegant manners, my wife would have been in fashion anywhere, and would have been quite at home as mistress of my household. She would have been for me a powerful auxiliary towards getting rid of the society of men and women out of place in my house, which would have been no longer that of a bachelor. I had cherished this hope as well as the desire, and had caused both a town and a country residence to be put in order. I wrote to my wife, who had remained in our native town, asking her to leave Fox and come to Paris, and assuring her of the sincerity of my attachment for her. I think I can recall writing to her: "Come and deliver me of all these wicked folk who beset me." My wife was not able to make up her mind to leave Provence.

CHAPTER V

General Hoche's success in La Vendée—Stofflet taken prisoner and shot—Audacity of the Versailles clergy—A screed bearing the title: *An Act of the Synod*—Civil marriages condemned—An ecclesiastical tribunal—Enactment of the Directorate in the matter—Alliance between Russia and England—Intrigues at home—Energetic measures of the Directorate—The Château de Bourmont, the headquarters of the Chouans—Châtillon—Scépeaux—Bourmont—Turpin-Crissé—The Superior Council of the Chouans—Poland—Heroism of Kosciuszko, one of her sons—Degradation of King Stanislaus—Clairfait deprived of his command—The Archduke Charles—Military regulations—Blaw and Meyer—The Batavian National Convention—Dissolution of the Dutch States-General—Success of the army on the Ocean shore—Territorial orders (*mandats*)—Open violation of the rights of nations on the part of England—Restrictions to the liberty of the press asked for—What such liberty means to society—An enactment forced by surprise from the Directorate by the Deputies of the Bouches-du-Rhône—Rewbell and I oppose it—A register recording the enforcement of all laws and enactments—Beurnonville—He importunes the Government—A place is found him—His immense indemnities—He is not satisfied—I make him an ironical offer—He takes it seriously—How I get rid of him—Grouvelle—Count von Bernstorf—Why our ambassador is received in Copenhagen—Poverty of Villars—Cacault—Faypoult—Bad management of the embassy in Genoa—Enactment adding to the attributes of generals-in-chief—General discontent in America—Its source—Washington's mistake—Advantages derived therefrom by England—General Hoche's grand behavior in La Vendée—Adjutant-General Travot—Charette taken prisoner—His dying utterance—Carnot takes a personal step—Approved secretly; blamed as to form—Audouin—Bonaparte reaches Nice—A letter sent to the two consuls—A denunciation handed in under cover of the

Directorate — The Deputy Isnard — Formal reception of the Marquis del Campo—The ambassador in Spain—Why he is received with mistrust — Aubert-Dubayet leaves for Constantinople—Saliceti's mission to Genoa—Why he is not altogether successful—Alleged resignation of Merlin—A change of Ministry — The deputy Cochon—Génissieux consul—Pichegru ambassador — True reason of his appointment — He declines—Reason given by him—Mistake committed by several generals-in-chief in regard to the deputation — The Minister of Marine denounced—Fate of the denunciation—Dilapidated condition of the roads — Remedial measures taken — Tremendous uproar in the Five Hundred—Isnard—Jordan—Lesage-Senault—Julien Souhait — Talot — Mutiny in the French squadron at Cadiz—Admiral Richery — Intrigues of factious men in Paris—The foreigner changes his system of intrigue against the Government—Weak points of the Constitution of the Year III.—An important proposition in regard to the press—The Minister of Justice given the portfolio of war—The Minister of Justice charged with the "radiation" of the *émigrés*—Disturbances on the warships at Havre—Royalists and Terrorists—They are all one — Great military preparations in Russia — Their object—Orders of the Directorate to the Army of Italy—General Beaulieu—Dispositions taken by the new general-in-chief—Wickham —Barthélemy — Indirect proposition made by England — The Directorate's reply to it — Anonymous note from the English Cabinet—Proclamation of the Batavian National Convention—Appeal of the Directorate to Lyons—Hoche's fresh successes in La Vendée — Obstacles encountered by him—The Directorate endeavors to remove them—Forged Bank of England notes and assignats—Spurious *louis d'or*—Two hundred and fifty millions asked of the Councils—An important arrest — Sidney Smith—Merlin for treating him as a spy—I oppose this—The rights of war — Protest of the English Government — Amusing reason which persuades Merlin—Disturbances in the Cher—Measures taken against the rebels—Order restored.

I NOW resume the account of our directorial sittings. General Hoche, pursues with vigor and justice the disarmament of La Vendée. Stofflet, his aides-de-camp, and his staff have been arrested at Cholet, taken to Angers, tried, and shot.

The Chouans are beaten in various places. Many of them are returning to their homes.

A profuse distribution is made in the department of Seine-et-Oise of a screed entitled *An Act of the Synod* held in the Church of St. Louis, at Versailles, by the parish priests of the diocese, on the 28th Nivôse, Year IV. This screed ignores and rejects civil marriage, resting on the opinion of the Pope, who is in harmony with the coalition. It announces the institution of an ecclesiastical tribunal, as well as a reunion of the faithful. The Directorate orders the Church of St. Louis closed, and that the signatories of the Act shall be prosecuted according to law.

Russia and England have signed an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance. This news seems to furnish the occasion for a rally on the part of our enemies at home, who are at heart united with the coalesced Powers. It is sought to stir up the people by means of the most infamous corruption, and sow dissension among the constituted authorities. Under these complicated circumstances the Directorate sees fit to adopt the report of the Minister of Police, which enacts that passports and permits to reside in Paris are to be recalled when once used.

15th Ventôse, Year IV.

Since the pacification of La Mabilais, the headquarters of the Chouans have been established at the Château de Bourmont; the chieftains are Count de Châtillon, Viscount de Scépeaux, Count de Bourmont, and Count Turpin-Crissé. They have constituted themselves a superior council, with the former attributes of the Council of La Vendée.

Fresh particulars reach us anent the occupation of Poland by the partitioning Powers. Russia has adopted cruel measures towards that unhappy land. The Polish prisoners of war have been gathered together, incorporated with and scattered through the Russian regiments. We learn that a Russian general raised his cane to a Pole who stepped out of the ranks to protest against tyrannical treatment. The Pole drew a knife, killed the general, wounded a superior officer who had come to the general's aid, then stabbed himself, exclaiming, "Go and crawl at the feet of your sovereign trull Catherine, and tell her that there still remain Republicans in Poland." The brave Kosciuszko is in prison, while King Stanislaus has been granted the favor of going to Italy to recruit his health.

We learn that General Clairfait, one of Austria's most brilliant generals, has been superseded in the command of the Army of the Rhine by the Archduke Charles.

The Directorate issues instructions to the Minister of War, with the object of stimulating his zeal in the matter of requisitioning. Other instructions limit the powers of generals and administrators indulging in exactions.

11th Ventôse, Year IV.—The ambassadors Blaw and Meyer notify the Directorate that the Batavian National Convention was installed on the 1st of March, 1796, and that dating from that period the States-General are dissolved.

The army operating on the Ocean shore continues to win brilliant victories over the Vendeans. Several of their chieftains have been killed, others have surrendered. There is every indication that General Hoche will succeed in the general pacification of the country.

The Legislature has issued *mandats territoriaux* (territorial orders directly exchangeable for the national lands) payable to bearer. The Directorate asks that they constitute a legal tender to meet the requirements of the public service.

23d Ventôse, Year IV.—The English, who are in the habit of violating the laws of nations, have just confiscated some Dutch ships lying in their ports or on the high seas; this without any preliminary declaration of war.

A motion is made in the Council of Five Hundred to impose certain restrictions on the liberty of the press. In the course of several conferences with the deputies in regard to this matter, the Directorate opposed the adoption of such a measure. The majority of the Council rejects the motion, which I look upon as liberticide. Any limits which it is sought to assign to the liberty of the press constitute an attempt to suppress it. To deprive a nation of the liberty of the press is to deprive it of its very respiration.

27th Ventôse, Year IV.—The deputies of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône have surreptitiously obtained from the Directorate an enactment enjoining upon the commissaries attached to the departmental administrations to inform it of such public functionaries whose principles are not in harmony with the Constitution or charged with misdemeanors. Part of this is no doubt reasonable. It is necessary, when establishing a new government, to place men and things on an harmonious footing, and the first basis of all harmony is assuredly integrity on the part of officialdom. But Messieurs the deputies of the Southern departments, whose patriotism is not of the most sincere

character, have slipped into the enactment solicited by them a clause requiring that the names of those they think worthy of taking the places of the individuals who might be dismissed should be presented at once. This is but another way of getting rid of officials obnoxious to these deputies and of substituting their creatures for them. Rewbell and I opposed this enactment, the danger of which our colleagues did not immediately grasp. The sequel showed them conclusively the motives governing the deputies of the Bouches-du-Rhône.

2d Germinal, Year IV.—At the time the Directorate took the reins of State new administrations were succeeding all those which followed in such rapid succession during the Revolution. We found everything in a state of disorder consequent upon these repeated changes. There are no registers, no accounting; everything therefore remains to be created. By an enactment of the 2d Germinal, Year IV., the Directorate orders the departmental administrations to keep a register recording the enforcement of all laws and enactments of the Government.

One of those men whose greedy impatience was only equalled by his nullity, and who ever worried the several Governments for offices and money, was General Beurnonville, who, since his return from captivity, has unceasingly besieged the Directors for employment. He is full "of courage and strength," he says, with his customary boastfulness; "he has still twenty campaigns in the belly at the disposal of the Directorate." He begins by asking for indemnities for all the losses he claims to have met with during his imprisonment abroad. Taking pity on his misfortunes, the Directorate gives Beurnonville in national property, money, and supplies of all kinds a greater fortune than he ever had. Matters thus settled to his taste, Beurnonville, grown less timid in preferring his requests, has no hesitancy in soliciting a chief command when he sees them held by so many superior men under whom he would not

be worthy to serve as sub-lieutenant, for all those who are able to estimate him at his value think that he is not fit to command, as the vulgar saying goes, a corporal and his squad. As for myself, it is my opinion that when it becomes a question of intrusting the life and fortunes of men, and the welfare of the State to a general-in-chief, the matter must be thought over carefully, and one must make doubly sure what the result will be. Rewbell agrees with me, and not only holds that Beurnonville is an incapable general, but an intriguer without any fixed opinions, and ready to adopt all those dictated to him by interest, in spite of his Republican hyperboles. Nevertheless, Beurnonville so besets us that for the sake of peace and quietness, and to get rid of him once and for all, Carnot said to us one day, "I only know of one army that could be given to this great Beurnonville, and 'tis one where there would be nothing for him to do." Such is, or thereabouts, the Army of the North protecting Holland, and which can never be more than an army of observation when all others will be actively engaged. Beurnonville is therefore appointed general-in-chief, and we thus get rid of his importunities and persistent demands. We thought to have done with him, when Beurnonville, returning to the subject of compensation, or rather compensations, which he alleges have been granted to him on a most parsimonious scale only, informs us that he is without a carriage, without equipages, without horses. It is impossible for him to leave if he is not mounted as a general-in-chief. "You shall be mounted in a manner worthy of you," I say to him ironically; "did I only think that the three horses in my sta-

bles would be acceptable to you and suit you, I should . . ." "Say no more, I accept," replies Beurnonville, "with gratitude," taking hold of my hand, which I immediately release from his grasp in order to return to the persons awaiting me in my *salon*, and to whom he had not left me time to give an audience.

I had sought to play a trick which would make General Beurnonville keep his place and teach him a lesson in discretion, when on the following morning I receive a letter from the indefatigable petitioner, stating that he is perfectly willing to accept with all his heart from a friend like myself the present of the three horses in my stables I had so long entertained the idea of offering him. I could not believe my own eyes, and was seeking how I could escape falling a victim to Beurnonville's indelicacy, when the thought struck me that after all it was not such a bad stroke of business to get rid of so troublesome a petitioner at the cost of three horses, so I concluded the bargain by sending my groom with the three horses to him, but with express orders to tell him most positively that the Directorate was under the impression that he had already reached his destination and that he had consequently better beware of "again showing himself at the Luxembourg."

Grouvelle, our minister at Copenhagen, has had his first formal audience of the King. Count von Bernstorf, Denmark's Secretary of State, has seen fit to justify this audience in the eyes of the Powers. He has pointed out to them that a regular government exists in France, and that the Danish King has deemed it proper to give this proof of his neutrality and impartiality.

Villars, our resident at Genoa, is dismissed; Cacault is to take his place until the arrival of Faypoult, our ambassador. The French party has received no support in that town.

An enactment empowers generals-in-chief to accept the resignations of, and to give absolute leave of absence to, all officers under them preferring the request. Half-pay officers who are desirous of remaining on active service may do so.

The treaty of commerce concluded between the United States and England causes general discontent in America; serious protests are made by the authorities and citizens of several States. Washington, in spite of his magnificent reputation for integrity, seems to have compromised himself in not consulting the Senate previous to the conclusions of the treaty, which is not only hurtful to the trade of the United States, but to the engagements entered into with France.

The American protesters declare that it would have been more becoming to have granted concessions to the French, to whom they owe such a debt of gratitude. The Treaty of Washington contains articles and dispositions which allow England to meddle with and take a part in all American affairs. It rouses the indignation of all the friends of American independence.

General Hoche, whose sustained conduct in La Vendée is ever full of firmness and justice, is rapidly bringing about the much desired pacification. He has summoned to his side the intrepid Adjutant-General Travot, who has carried out the instructions of his chief with unparalleled punctuality and activity. He has hunted Charette day and night like a wild beast in his haunts. Charette, left with only a small following, is captured in a wood on the 2d Germinal, and soon shot at Nantes, where but a few months ago he treated on equal terms with the Convention. On his way to execution, he exclaimed, "So this is what the English have brought me to!"

2d Germinal, Year IV.

5th Germinal, Year IV.—The Directorate appoints Travot brigadier-general. Carnot has repeatedly written to the Deputy Audouin, asking him to send news about the troops to the Council. The Director, in so doing, was doubtless actuated by the best of motives, but his action does not seem proper to the Directorate. Its members are not allowed to send out any missives in their individual capacity.

10th Germinal.—Bonaparte has arrived in Nice and assumed the chief command of the army. I have written to the two consuls in Italy to inform them that I had taken no part in the transmission to them of a denunciation sent them from the South as if coming from the Directorate. I loudly disown the allegation of the Deputy Isnard; the Councils order that my letter be printed.

11th Germinal, Year IV.

12th Germinal, Year IV.—We have not received any ambassador of the foreign Powers since our installation. Priority is given to the Marquis del Campo, the Spanish Ambassador, who is received in solemn audience. Neither sincerity nor trust was attached to the ceremonial. This Spaniard enjoys far too great a reputation for keen shrewdness; for sharpness is of no avail in the times wherein we live, especially to this man, when we are aware that it is his business. This Spaniard, I say, had paid a visit to England ere landing on French soil. This road, doubtless not chosen because of its being the shortest, was justly suspicious to us.

Aubert-Dubayet has received his instructions and his audience to take leave, and is on his way to Constantinople.

The Directorate has commissioned Saliceti to go to Genoa, in order to try to obtain from that Government the provisions and forage required by the Army of Italy. The English and Austrian Ministers have threatened the Genoese in the case of their delivering supplies or making any grants. Saliceti, another of the men who enjoyed in those days a high reputation for sharpness, did not show on this mission all the cleverness he is credited with. It is true that his alleged cleverness has within himself two powerful adversaries accustomed to triumph over him—to wit, ambition and interest—which induced him to deal cautiously and gently with all matters in which he saw a chance of gratifying these two passions, which rise superior to his patriotism. Still, he managed to secure a small quantity of forage.

12th Germinal, Year IV.—The Directorate accepts the alleged resignation of Merlin, the Minister of Police. This, pursuant to an agreement entered into with him; he is at once reappointed Minister of Justice. The Deputy Cochon, *dit* Laparent, a former member of the Constitutional Assembly and of the National Convention, goes to the Police; the ex-Minister of Justice Génissieux, who has merely held *ad interim* Merlin's

position in the Place Vendôme, is appointed consul at Barcelona. Pichegru is sent as ambassador to Sweden. This appointment has been variously interpreted. It has been said that it was the result of the Directorate's distrust of Pichegru, in view of recent events on the Rhine, in connection with which he had been suspected of treason. This is an altogether gratuitous mistake. In this instance the Directorate had no more reason to mistrust Pichegru than Jourdan. It had been found impossible to retain together at the head of the two armies which were to give each other aid and operate together these two generals, who reciprocally charged each other with their personal errors. The Directorate having discovered greater docility in Jourdan, had given him the preference in consequence. At most, we looked upon Pichegru as merely a malcontent. Had we entertained the least suspicion of Pichegru's having entertained the slightest idea of treason when at the head of his army, we should no more have sent him as ambassador to Sweden than have left him in command of an army. As a matter of fact, it was he who had resigned his command, just as he refused the ambassadorship to Sweden. The reason he assigned, one which we believed genuine, was the need he felt of going home to rest from his uninterrupted military labors—uninterrupted for some years—and his desire to be elected a deputy. This wish was shared by many military men, who, having until this been subjected to the power of the representatives of the people, imagined that, once members of a political assembly, they would in their turn attain the supremacy whose servants they had been so far. But they were mistaken. Ever since the powers of each one had been strictly defined, each one having his allotted place, the deputies could exercise no other influence than that proceeding from their talents, and their acts being merely collective, they could not derive therefrom the enjoyments attached to the exercise of personal will. This kind of enjoyment was the appanage to a far greater extent of generals in high command of armies; these, freed henceforth from the presence of representatives of the people, knew no superiors but the Directorate.

The Minister of Marine is denounced to the Council of Five Hundred for not having, it is alleged, strictly adhered to the law relating to the reorganization of the navy. The Directorate, in a message drawn up by the Minister himself, asks for infor-

mation, and for all answer is met with a display of ill-temper on the part of the deputies, who, however, end in withdrawing their complaint and passing to the order of the day.

Considering that France has been so deeply furrowed for over five years by the movements of troops engaged in warfare, it has been impossible to do more than to provide for the requirements of these troops, in order to hurl them against the enemy; hence it will be seen what a dilapidation must of necessity have ensued, owing to the necessary postponement of all repairs. From all directions do we hear that the roads are in such a state of ruin that communications are all but interrupted. The Directorate believes that the creation of a *droit de passe* (toll) might meet the expenses of repairing and keeping the roads in repair; and that compelling vehicles to have wide fellies to their wheels might also relieve the roadway. In support of our idea we have the example set by our neighbors and by Belgium, and we decide upon adopting both these means simultaneously.

The state of agitation existing in the South is still to have its counter-strokes. Each time that it becomes a text or a pretext for discussion, the superior authorities in Paris giving their attention to it, or that it engages general attention, the result is a great uproar in the Council of Five Hundred; threats, insults, and even blows are exchanged among the deputies; Isnard, Jordan, Lesage-Senault, Julien Souhait, and Talot are the wrestlers in this arena. The president has put on his hat in vain, for he is unable to put an end to this scene of violence, brought about by a request that a commission instructed to report on the state of the South be suppressed.

23d Germinal, Year IV.—The Directorate is informed that serious disturbances have broken out on the ships of the French squadron at anchor off Cadiz; the crews have supported their demands for a share in the prizes with threats. These claims may doubtless be fairly well grounded, but discipline must be preserved. The most audacious mutineers are placed under arrest by Admiral Richery. Some indications are believed to have been found that English agents had incited all the trouble; this explanation is a happy one, in that it removes the blame from all.

We receive various reports that the city of Paris, the seat of the new Government, continues to be the hot-bed of intrigues

threatening our collective and even our individual existence; libellous pamphlets are being issued, sedition organized; fiery orators are addressing gatherings, spreading lies, calumnies, and alarmist rumors injurious to the public credit; some few go so far as to openly preach revolt; they invoke the Constitution of 1793 and the agrarian law. Europe is to-day convinced that the institutions of the Republic are not to be overthrown by an open war; corruption and the spread of dissension are the only means remaining to our enemies. The Directorate issues a proclamation for the purpose of enlightening all true citizens in regard to these manœuvrings; but, in the truly liberal organization with which the Constitution of the Year III. has endowed France, great latitude has been left to liberty, and the means of repressing license have been almost overlooked; there is a lack of laws to meet the most ordinary cases; every opportunity is therein afforded to attack, but no weapon of defence. The Directorate proposes to the Council of Five Hundred a legislative enactment whereby all printers shall be required to put their names and domicile at the foot of every issue from their presses, and that all persons distributing documents not bearing the printer's signature shall be prosecuted.

If the nature and quantity of laws *on*—that is, *against*—the liberty of the press have been passed by the many consular, imperial, and royal Governments which have ruled France, it will be admitted that the Directorate, still in its infancy, and compelled to defend itself, was not very exacting on this occasion, nor assuming a threatening attitude towards liberty in the latitude of the simple request it was presenting in the interests of public order, not with the object of circumscribing, but of regulating, the exercise of the functions of the press.

The Directorate, believing at the same time that if the question of the "radiation" (striking their names off the list of proscription) of *émigrés* was deserving of great attention, it must above all things not be subjected to arbitrariness, but be dealt with by justice, proposes to deprive the Minister of Police of this attribute, and hand it over to the Minister of Justice.

Disturbances break out on the warships at Havre. The Directorate orders the arrest of the ringleaders and their arraignment before a military jury. Information received from various sources authorizes the belief that the English are not foreign to these manœuvrings, the object of which is to prevent these ships

from escorting a convoy as far as Brest. The Directorate again solicits from the Council of Five Hundred a law enjoining the prosecution of those who are working towards the restoration of the monarchy and the *régime* of 1793. It was the same men who used to cry out, "Long live the King! Long live Maury! Long live Mirabeau and Robespierre!" When seeing the triumph of the ideas and the establishment of the government which they affirm, they would like to avenge the defeats experienced by them in Vendémiaire and Prairial.

Great military preparations are taking place in Russia; three armies are being organized. The Directorate has ascertained that these armaments are not to be directed against Europe.

The Directorate has ordered the Army of Italy to move in closer proximity to Genoa. The aristocracy of that city is preparing to resist us, and has asked support from General Beaulieu, who has promised it. The Italian people are, generally speaking, well disposed towards the French, and stand greatly in awe of the Austrians. These dispositions are notified to the new general-in-chief, who has just assumed command. He is now at his post, and must soon turn to advantage all the chances afforded him by existing conditions.

While preparing and stimulating the war which we are compelled to wage, we have all mutually agreed, as early as our installation, that all our efforts shall tend to giving peace to France. But, in the actual state of affairs, when the Directorate is representing a Republic a prey to a coalition of kings, it cannot make any overtures, but must await them with dignity. An agent of the English, one to whom the annals of corruption attribute so active a share in the machinations of Europe, Mr. Wickham, Minister in Switzerland, addresses a note to the French Ambassador, Barthélemy, inquiring whether France would be disposed towards a general peace, and, in such a case, would she send ministers to a congress, after previously communicating her views as to the bases of a peace, in order that the Court of England and its allies might make a preliminary examination of them? The Directory replies to Barthélemy as follows: "The French Government is desirous for peace on a just, honorable, and solid basis; a congress does not seem to it a prompt means of reaching such a consummation; intrusted with the execution of the laws, it can neither make nor listen to any proposition in opposition to them. The Constitu-

tion does not allow it to consent to any alienation of *territory*, which constitutes the basis of the Republic; such are its means and its rights. The Directorate is, however, prepared to entertain any overture compatible with the dignity of the French people." A note bearing no signature, which reached Barthélemy from London, sets forth that "so long as this disposition is persisted in, no other alternative will be left to the King of England than that of prosecuting the war."

29th Germinal, Year IV. — Letters received from Holland inform us that the Government of that country is, with good cause, on its guard against the machinations of the English. The Batavian National Assembly has issued a proclamation calling upon the youth of the country to enlist in defence of the Fatherland; it recalls the cruelties perpetrated by the English, those violators of treaties, and the vexatious treatment endured at their hands by the stadtholder and his adherents previous to their departure from Holland. "Let us maintain," exclaims the Assembly, "the honor of the Batavian flag; let us be worthy of our French allies, who have helped us to break our fetters."

Alive to the necessity of restoring peace throughout France, the Directorate, whom it has been sought to alarm in regard to the dispositions of the city of Lyons, appeals directly to that interesting town, pointing out to it all the advantages it must derive from the restoration of peace and order, the primary protectors of commerce, and the sources of all prosperity.

General Hoche prosecutes with renewed triumphs his great pacification of the West, but he is everywhere hampered by the civil administrations. The Directorate orders them not to cease turning over to the paymaster of the army all taxes collected. Hoche amnesties, with our approval, the deserters who come in and lay down their arms. Hoche notifies the departments under his command that forged Bank of England notes are being widely circulated, just as formerly the forged assignats at Quiberon and the spurious *louis* given by the English to Stofflet.

Messages are sent to the Council of Five Hundred requesting that two hundred millions be placed at the disposal of the Minister of War, and fifty at that of the Minister of Marine.

28th Germinal, Year IV.—The Minister of Marine informs us of an important arrest: Sidney Smith, he who burned our ships at Toulon, and who has just been intrusted with the duty of burning them at Havre, has been captured in that port, off which he had anchored during the night with the *Diamant;* he had then boarded the corsair *Le Vengeur*, taking possession of it. Several boats from the Havre had attacked him and compelled him to surrender. Sulphurated faggots and other combustible material found aboard his ship had left no doubt as to the intentions of this incendiary. The Directorate orders that Sidney Smith be sent to Paris. There is a desire to treat him as a spy; this is the idea of Merlin, who knows a good deal about many laws, but nothing of those of war and the rights of those who wage it. An attack made with an armed force constitutes a military act, whatever the arm employed and the post against which it is directed. Such are the principles which I remind my colleagues of. I experience no little difficulty in inculcating them, owing to the presence of Merlin, whose narrow and subtle brain does not go beyond that of a prosecuting attorney. Moreover, the English Government is already calling for the surrender of Sidney Smith, and threatens reprisals should any harm befall this officer. "These reprisals will fall on you," I say to Merlin. Merlin yields to this argument, which he believes is seriously put forth by me, and suffers the Directorate to give way to my opinion. The trial of Sidney Smith is indefinitely postponed; he is to remain a prisoner in Paris.

Just as we are beginning to bring La Vendée

proper to terms, and re-establish peace in that province, the insurrection seems to have merely changed its locality, and transferred itself to the neighboring districts. The department of the Cher is upset by fanatical and royalist gatherings; the insurgents have met in the country surrounding Sancerre; we learn that on the 11th Germinal the tocsin has been rung in a number of municipalities, and that the white cockade has been donned; the rebels have taken Sancerre to the cries of "Long live the King! Long live the Pope!" They have cut down the liberty trees, and burned the books of the administration. Immediately on hearing these disturbances, the Directorate despatches 1500 men from Paris, and sends orders to Hoche to strengthen them with 3000 men and cannon. On seeing determined troops marching on Sancerre, the brigands evacuate the town, and take up a position in a neighboring village. The Republicans attack them, killing several of them; among the dead are several priests. Their white standards and arms are captured; the fugitives beg for mercy; the chieftains only are sent to trial. All gatherings are dispersed, and quiet is restored.

CHAPTER VI

Proclamation of the Directorate to the armies—Battle of Montenotte—The Treasury unfavorably disposed towards the Directorate—The Legislature assumes control of the Treasury—Gap in the Constitution of the Year III.—Intrigues of *émigrés* in Holland—The Directorate copes with them—Victory of Millesimo—General Provera taken prisoner—The Paris police legion tampered with by agitators—It is incorporated with the army—Its disobedience and punishment—Serious inconveniences arising from the presence of troops in the towns—Necessity for national guards—Brilliant successes of the Army of Italy—Bâle suffers the Army of Condé to pass through its territory—A firm despatch from the Directorate—Excellent results of its loyal conduct—Its financial system based on good faith—France's condition improves—Her relations with the rest of Europe—Embargo laid on our ships in Holland—Satisfaction granted us—The problem of the Republic about to be solved—The commissaries to the colonies—Why their selection is a difficult matter—The Government acquires strength—Symptoms—Sought after at home and abroad—An influx of fresh courtiers—Adhesion of the most distinguished men—Benjamin Constant—He offers his *début* to the Directorate—His first pamphlet—He is introduced to me by Mme. de Staël—Which was the man, and which the woman?—A word on behalf of Mme. de Staël—Pen-portrait of young Benjamin Constant—Words spoken by him to me—Stammering—Demosthenes—M. de Jouy—Perpetual motion—Mme. de Staël to the rescue of her *protégé*—"You must not tear his eyes out"—How could I?—M. Elzéar de Sabran—Analysis of the treatise—Application of the theories of the author made by himself—Letters expressing satisfaction to Bonaparte and the Generals-in-Chief—Names of soldiers who have distinguished themselves—Rewbell's opinion—Mondovi taken—Skilful dispositions of Bonaparte—The Court of Turin—Amnesty proclaimed by Hoche—Submission of the Vendeans—Sweden and Russia—A Russian party in

Sweden—M. de Choiseul Minister of Louis XVIII. at Vienna—Austria's behavior—Quirini compels the Bourbons to leave Verona—Deference shown the Directorate—Negotiations with Tuscany—Reorganization of the National Guard—Principles of administration—General Colli—Overtures for peace made to Bonaparte—His evasive answer—Pledges exacted by him—His mistake—We receive the flags captured in Italy—Massing of German troops—Pretext alleged—The Directorate comes to an explanation with Prussia—Secret sacrifices to the advantage of that Power—Louis XVIII. ordered to leave Verona—Carlotti—Conditions laid down by Louis XVIII.—Protests of Podesta—The reply of the exiled prince—My opinions about it—Bonaparte sets spies to watch the Bourbons—Reasons for his action—Life of Louis XVIII. at Verona—The "Comte de Lille"—Whither he goes on leaving Verona—Louis XVIII. recognized as king by the Army of Condé—Conduct of the Powers towards him—He takes his kingly *rôle* in earnest—His character—What the Army of Condé was in those days—Regiments composed of men—A phantom review—Grave demeanor of the king and of the Prince de Condé—What the Austrian general did—Bonaparte's proclamation to the Army of Italy—Surrender of Scépeaux and his Chouans—Engagement of Fondi—Death of General Laharpe—Suspension of hostilities—Peace concluded with the King of Sardinia—The bridge of Lodi—Beaulieu defeated—Bonaparte's anxieties in regard to his command—His opposition to the marriage of Fréron with his sister Pauline—He blossoms forth as the champion of morality.

WHILE the strength of our arms and a skilful policy determine the submission of La Vendée and the fortifying of the new Government's position in the districts so long unfortunate and upset by Royalist intrigue, it becomes doubly necessary to use this moment of relief at home to bring all our resources to bear against the foreign enemy. In a proclamation to the armies, the Directorate announces to them the opening of the campaign; it urges them to make a great and final effort to secure an honorable peace, which our

5th Floréal, Year IV.

enemies still refuse. It informs the councils that the campaign began in Italy on the 20th Germinal with an important victory. We have taken 2000 prisoners, and killed 2000 of the enemy's men. The battle was fought at Montenotte against the combined Austrian and Piedmontese forces.

I am telling nothing new when I say that money is the sinews of war; it is especially so in the case of a Government in its infancy. The Treasury had three commissaries, whose opinions were not reputed to be favorable to the Directorate. The legislature, whose mission seemed to be to seek out the weak points of the Directorate, believed it had discovered one it could pounce upon, so it decreed that the supervision of the Treasury should be intrusted to itself. This was tantamount to withdrawing from the Government's control this administration, without which it could not carry on its operations, and which would throw endless obstacles in its path the moment it no longer exercised any authority over it. Of course it is not proper that the executive power should be able to assume the charge of the funds it is called upon to apportion; such apportionment should not be left to arbitrariness; it is necessary, in short, as has since been judiciously claimed by speakers in various assemblies, that the Government credits should be granted for duly specified purposes; but these once determined, and the moment they are not violated, and that each remains in its sphere, the right of giving to each of these spheres the direction constituting its movement and life should not be gainsaid the executive power. The omission in the constitution of the Year III. in this portion of the organization

and attributes of the executive power was therefore an actual defect. Fatal consequences will result therefrom as the other principles of division between the two great Powers become developed.

At the head of the opposing parties the Directorate will have to cope with from the first to the last day of its existence, the *émigrés* must undoubtedly be classed, for the establishment of the Republic and its organization are nothing but a victory wrested from the emigration; and the Directorate, being the first regular embodiment of this victory, is, as a matter of course, the objective point of the *émigrés*, who, ever smitten to the ground on the battle-field, where they did not put in an appearance as often as it has been said, can no longer show a bold front in any direction. In conformity with the character and principles governing courts, they are wholly content with intriguing at home and abroad. They hope to alienate our friends and to raise up enemies against us. This is what we learn from despatches received from Holland, telling us that, enjoying there the hospitality of a country which they should consider was affording them a protective neutrality, and where they could find rest and quiet, the *émigrés* seek to disturb our own with their fresh machinations. Happily, the Directorate does not lack means of defence in that quarter; armed with the treaty of alliance existing between the two Republics, the Directorate demands the enforcement of Article 22, and insists on intriguing *émigrés* being expelled immediately.

The Army of Italy victorious. The Austrian and Piedmontese armies have suffered a heavy defeat at Millesimo. They have lost 10,500 men, all their

guns, flags, stores, baggage, General Colli, commander of the Piedmontese, and Provera, of the Austrian armies. The latter has surrendered as prisoner of war, together with his troops.

The military dash imparted to the nation since Jemmapes, Fleurus, and so many other victories so well forebodes the future, and indicates the glorious course to be pursued by the French armies, that our enemies are not slow in discerning that they have nothing to expect but from our dissensions, and that it is at home that they must direct their blows. Plots are therefore in full swing; we learn that the police legion formed for the purpose of assuring the security of the city of Paris is being tampered with by agitators; instead of a guarantee of order, it is a source of anxiety to both authorities and citizens. The various parties had, on its formation, succeeded in placing on the force men they considered devoted to them. Such elements could but be productive of untoward results; I had foreseen them. The legion had none the less been organized in spite of my warning. I had, from the outset, appreciated the danger of a Pretorian guard, and had wished for a simple detective force, which, attentive to its duties, should hold aloof from politics. The old *guet* (watch) of Paris was a useful institution. Most of the soldiers of the *guet* were sedentary fathers of families, interested in public order, and determined to maintain it; one had been afraid of re-establishing a force of men known as the *Tristes à pattes;* something new had been sought for, and the police legion had obtained the preference. But it had in nowise fulfilled the honorable object of its mandate. The Directorate, in spite of its apparent confidence

in the police legion, had quickly discovered that it could not trust it, and had for a long time been watching its doings; it considers the time has come to ward off the peril. We enact that the police legion shall be sent to join the armies, where it will doubtless distinguish itself as much by its bravery as its discipline. This was my personal opinion and hope; I knew in the legion several sincere patriots and excellent soldiers. Several of them disappointed the confidence I had placed in them; the 2d and 3d battalions refused to obey. We were compelled to dissolve the legion, and, in order to efface even its name, incorporated it with and disseminated it through the army. Such are the inconveniences of bodies established in capitals, when they are initiated into the secrets of the policy they are called upon to give support to. Now they are Pretorians, now Janissaries, and again Imperial Guards. The custody of cities should be intrusted to a national guard alone—in other words, the citizens themselves. Should stress of circumstance compel a deviation from the principle, a return to it is always made necessary by the fatal consequences of such deviation.

From the day of Bonaparte's first appearance on the stage of war, his historians and himself have sufficiently and perhaps too much applied themselves to attributing to his person exclusively the honor of anything of importance done in the realms of warfare or politics. He has taken possession of every page, of all annals, and it seems a pleonasm to say anything further about him. I will not avail myself of the right afforded by this satiety to omit from my narrative that which Bonaparte's actual

conduct will present us as worthy of being recalled. Now the Italian campaign, opening in the Year IV. of the Republic, certainly affords much food for astonishment and admiration. It would be vainly sought to contest the superior ability of the man directing it. When the warrior who is now at his *début* will have pursued a long career, in the course of which a succession of gigantic feats are to be met with, perchance those who are desirous of rendering to Bonaparte justice on securely established grounds will derive the most support by reverting to his early campaigns in Italy. It is true that their principal spring lies in the power of the Revolution and the ardor of liberty; that, if these noble sentiments are not to be found in the heart of Bonaparte, they are at least on his lips, and that the mass which sincerely feels them is fired with enthusiasm. What then cannot an able general do, appreciating the resources the Revolution has supplied to him, in placing at his disposal all the valiant soldiers born for the last four years on the field of battle, where they have already won immortality? But now the time has come when Bonaparte is to take unto himself the glory and talents of the many heroes formed by the Republic.

The hostile armies have again been defeated in Italy. We learn that the Piedmontese have evacuated the camp of Ceva and lost 2000 men on the 26th Germinal. We occupy Montesimo[1] (*sic*, Millesimo?), Dego, and Saint-Jean—most important positions. The Tanaro valley is open to us. The Piedmontese army will shortly be totally annihilated. The Sardinian Government is about to detach itself from the coalition.

The Army of Condé is meditating an attack on the French

[1] Montenesimo.—Translator's note.

frontier by way of the territory of Bâle. The Directorate is warned of this. It informs the administration of the canton that if it does not cause its neutrality and territory to be respected, and if it tolerates the passage of the enemies of the Republic, the Directorate will hold the Swiss authorities responsible, and take proper measures against them to protect the frontier departments.

Amid the many plans and ideas with which the Directorate has been besieged since its installation, the fact has not been overlooked that the establishment of a republic is just as much a moral engagement as a political wager. We have loyally striven to do that which was most just and honest; we have rejected resources offered to us, when they deviated from these principles. Thus, we have declined to accept revenues from the gaming-houses, and closed them. This feeling of honor has prevailed and given actual results, for specie, so long unknown, has taken the place of paper money, which has ceased to exist. Our credit is being re-established. The nation seems to proclaim that it feels confidence in our honesty. We seek to respond to this generous feeling by faithfully meeting our engagements. Such is our financial system; we are already reaping the fruits of it. France's position is improving and becoming imposing abroad. Holland is free; the House of Orange has been expelled from it; the navigation of the Scheldt is open; we possess Belgium and Savoy. Friendly relations have been established with Spain; the cause of the United States and ours are one. Sweden and Denmark assure us of a benevolent neutrality.

An embargo laid on French ships in Hamburg has drawn an energetic protest from the Directorate. The Hamburg Government at once sent a senator to Paris to arrange the matter. The Directorate has obtained immediate satisfaction.

Our institutions are consolidating. The factions are to be repressed: if the Directorate is supported by the Legislature, there is every reason to hope that the organization of the Constitution of the Year III. will be perfected, and that the problems of a republic for France will be solved.

Several sittings have been devoted to the selection of the commissaries to be sent to the colonies. The animated discussion which has ensued has not resulted in the appointment of men altogether suited

to such a mission. The more delegated power is to be exercised abroad, the more are those to whom it is intrusted to be selected with scrupulous care. Unfortunately, all those who are destined to cross the Tropics are not men the most satisfied with their country, or whom their country holds in greatest esteem. Did they enjoy in it all that attaches us to our country, would they be so anxious to go in quest of such enjoyment elsewhere? I myself have in my young days felt a desire for a change of place and the love of travel. Yet I do not intend to give reasons in condemnation of myself, for it would be just as easy a matter for me to allege others in my defence. I can truly say that the nervous restlessness of early age, in my case hardly that of my adolescence, and an altogether natural desire to see foreign lands, were the sole reasons for my journeys; that no calculation or interested thoughts entered my mind; in short, that this early period of my life is the most innocent, nay, I may even say of my virginity itself.

Now that the Directorate, feeling at ease as to the organization of the armies, can form an estimate of the forces required to cope with so many foreign enemies, in order to allow of its entering into distant combinations and expeditions beyond the seas, the ascendant of the new system is readily discernible. What specially convinces me that our Government is daily gaining strength, and that the shares of the Directorate, if I may use the expression, "are being well quoted in the European market," is not only expressions of politeness and coquetry that we receive from all Governments which have sought peace and seem content to enter into fraternal relations with us, but the dislikes to us seem to have

quieted down at home. The enemies of liberty, the opponents of the Republic, are beginning to amend. People who so loudly protested against the new organization at the time of the 13th Vendémiaire, admit that they may have been mistaken. Several of them beg of my colleagues and myself to be admitted to our apartments in the Luxembourg, in order to assure us of their regret for their behavior in the past, and of their devotion in the future. Of course I do not place entire faith in their complimentary speeches and genuflexions; they are the manners and principles which formed a part of the education under the old *régime*, whose expiring hours I was witness of; and this servility, ever displeasing to my pride of character, was perhaps one of the first motives which made me give my support to the Republic, in that it represented the reprisals of honor and the necessary re-erection of the rights of the human species debased and bowed down.

But, without wishing to further congratulate myself on our successes, as demonstrated by the influx of fresh courtiers, a while ago *émigrés*, who protest that they will no longer be such, nay, that they have never been such, who rush into our antechambers for the purpose of contesting the right to and establishing a kind of domesticity, I must confess that I could not remain insensible to the fact that these marks of deference showed respect for the chief magistrates of the Republic, and a resigned conviction born of the superiority of its strength. But if it behooved us not to entertain any illusions as to the sentiments of this portion of society, which has always some favor to ask of Governments, actually returning to us under the pressure of want, on the

other hand we received from various quarters most honorable expressions of esteem, the sincerity of which it was impossible to doubt; all the most distinguished men of Europe and America were with us in mind and heart in our efforts to organize France on a republican basis, and gave us the support of their esteem and of their ardent wishes for the prosperity of the Republic.

Just about this time the Directorate was presented with a pamphlet entitled *The Strength of the Present Government of France, and the Necessity of Rallying to it.* It was the maiden effort, the political *début* of a young publicist then unknown, who has since shed such lustre on his name. It was as the author of this pamphlet that M. Benjamin Constant was introduced to me by Mme. de Staël. I am not going to say which of these two led the other, which was the man and which the woman, for in spite of what calumny may have spread, I here solemnly declare, to the honor of Mme. de Staël, who was perhaps as intractable as Mme. Beauharnais pretended to be when speaking to Bonaparte before her marriage—I declare that I never really knew to which sex Mme. de Staël belonged. The virility of her form, face, and carriage, her manner of wearing her clothes, the strength of her intellectual conceptions, her exuberant vigor and energy—all, in short, would have led me to believe that she belonged rather to our sex than to the other, had she not given indubitable proofs of her own by several acts of maternity. Mme. de Staël, holding M. Benjamin Constant by the hand, said to me, "Here is a young man who is prodigiously witty, and who belongs to us; he is devoting himself to the good cause; he is

altogether one of us." The *protégé* of Mme. de Staël was a tall, affected, and foolish-looking youth, who, I do not believe, presented this appearance with the object of establishing a contrast with his wit, whenever he should chance to display it. Fiery fair hair, which malicious people would have called reddish-brown, small eyes which one would have believed to be of the same color, had not the spectacles sheltering them prevented their being seen, a delicate ironical mouth, seeming to make game of everything, even its owner, and which would have liked to be still more mocking, were it possible—such was M. Benjamin Constant at the age of twenty.

I thanked Mme. de Staël, and waited for the youthful neophyte to say something in his turn, when he remarked to me, with a most embarrassed air, while twisting his awkward body into all kinds of contortions, "Citizen Director, it would make me very happy if the short treatise I take the liberty of offering you could afford you pleasure." This sentence was spoken with a thickness of utterance and an effeminate stammering which could only pronounce *s* as if it were *z*. I have since learned that M. Benjamin Constant's pronunciation has improved; France and Europe are acquainted with his progress and his achievements in the Tribune. Demosthenes was compelled to fill his mouth with pebbles ere he could speak to the Athenians. The difficulty overcome by his persevering efforts redounds all the more to his credit, because he must have been a man of art to reveal himself one of nature, and he was Demosthenes! Hence the circumstance I recall of my first interview with M. Benjamin Constant can but set forth more strongly the merit of the

man to whom his heart and resolution subsequently gave the organ nature had seemingly denied him. Still, it grieved me to see M. Benjamin Constant apparently seeking his speech in the contortions of his body. His legs and arms moved with redoubled activity, just as in the case, I am told, of M. de Jouy, the academician, whose perpetual motion has no parallel. M. Benjamin Constant dragged out his lisping words with a guttural effort. I would have liked to have consoled him, when Mme. de Staël, with her volubility capable of giving support to any one ready to succumb, came to the rescue of her friend, saying, "He is a good citizen, a man of courage, and one who has the right ideas. Just look at the title of his treatise." I read, *The Strength of the Present Government of France, and the Necessity of Rallying to it.* "I must confess to you, Madame," I said to Mme. de Staël, "that this title is a most gracious one. If, as I feel sure, the author has spoken from conviction, I receive his present with twofold pleasure." "This treatise will cause many to rally to you," said Mme. de Staël; "it will be worth battalions to you; come, Citizen Director, accept it in good earnest, and do not show indifference to it. Assuredly an author who perhaps shows a Government all its strength, which it perhaps is ignorant of, and who demonstrates it to those who would deny it —such an author does not deserve that you should tear his eyes out." I could not help laughing at these last words, for I was not dreaming of tearing out M. Benjamin Constant's eyes; and, even if so mad an idea had taken possession of me, I do not know how it would have been possible to put it into execution. M. Benjamin had literally seemed

to me to have no eyes, but merely a couple of albino-like apples, like M. Elzéar de Sabran, sunken in the head and hidden by spectacles, which concealed them totally from view.

After taking leave of Mme. de Staël, or rather after she had been kind enough to take leave of me, I read the same evening the treatise of M. Benjamin Constant, soon discovering that there was no reason, to use Mme. de Staël's words, for tearing out the eyes of the youthful publicist. When speaking of men entitled to esteem, M. Benjamin Constant sets forth that it is for them to draw near to the Government, and not *vice versa*. He wishes to see the Republic firmly established, as he is of opinion that it embodies everything grand and noble in human destinies. It is far from his thoughts, he adds, to write against any Government, or to call upon any monarchical State to renounce royalty, or upon any aristocracy to adopt democratic forms; but he feels it his duty to exhort a nation enjoying self-government in the person of his representatives. He speaks harshly of the National Convention, which has ceased to exist, and perhaps somewhat too kindly of the Directorate, which is in existence.

Observing minds, who judge the present and prejudge the future, would have regretted to see in the author a man greatly inclined to grant right to might, and exhibit general good-will to *de facto* Governments without inquiring into their moral principle. M. Benjamin Constant subsequently developed his theories with the most generous applications, and proved by a display of the purest sentiment of humanity and liberty, which inspired all his speeches, that Governments will never have any claims on his

consideration except when they shall respect those to whom they owe their existence.

The greatest recompenses so far awarded by the Convention to the armies having won the most brilliant triumphs over the enemy had consisted in decreeing that "they had well deserved of the country." The Directorate has no other method of reward at its disposal, nor do the Republican armies entertain the thought of any other. They are quite content, and consider they have received their due, when justice is done to their conduct by a few congratulatory words. The Directorate resolves that a letter ex-

9th Floréal, Year IV. pressing satisfaction shall be written to General Bonaparte, as well as to those generals who have distinguished themselves in the engagements fought since the opening of the campaign. I move that the Minister of War be ordered to ask the staffs of the armies for the names of soldiers deserving of particular honor. Rewbell indorses my idea. "Let us beware," he says, "of doing too much and everything for the generals-in-chief; they are not likely to forget themselves." Bonaparte, who still wears the woollen epaulets of his first years of military life, preserves up to this time the outward garb of modesty both in his utterances and his habiliments; 'tis in the name of liberty that he issues his proclamations. He enjoins discipline upon his soldiers, and severely punishes those who infringe it. He sends us as a proof of his dispositions in this respect the death-sentence he has caused to be pronounced against a sapper, who has been executed for marauding. The name of this poor wretch was La Tombe. On going to his death he leaves to his comrades a farewell which is a genuine testament of

honor. Bonaparte, when sending us all the documents connected with the sad affair, believes he is displaying Roman virtue. In order that this application of severity should have full force, it should have been likewise made in the case of those generals who have already indulged in exactions far greater than those of the soldiers, and which the General-in-Chief rather seems to encourage than to prohibit.

The Army of Italy has taken Mondovi after a brilliant engagement. Bonaparte's well-conceived dispositions have been admirably executed. The enemy's skilful manœuvring did not save it from defeat. The Court of Turin is in a state of consternation. It has asked the Spanish ambassador to make overtures for peace. The greater number of the rebels in La Vendée have taken advantage of a proclamation of amnesty issued by General Hoche; they have flocked to the various cantonments for the purpose of surrendering; the *émigrés* and some of the worst fanatics have sought a refuge among the Chouans. The justice of General Hoche and the confidence inspired by him are hastening the pacification.

Letters from St. Petersburg announce that a Russian army is being massed on the borders of Finland. Sweden is also getting together considerable forces on its extreme frontier. The armies are face to face; hostilities are imminent. It is believed that there exists among the Swedes a Russian party which talks *cession* and arrangements.

M. de Choiseul, formerly ambassador at Constantinople, reaches Vienna intrusted with the affairs of the king, who resides in Verona. Austria has required that he shall not display any public character. The Minister of Venice, Quirini, forestalling the presumed desires of the French Republic, takes the engagement on behalf of his government of expelling from the territory of his republic all members of the Bourbon family still dwelling within its limits, and to whom the right of asylum was formerly granted only subject to the approval of the Committee of Public Safety. The Directorate has but to ask, or to express a desire, in order to obtain.

The Directorate notifies the Grand Duke of Tuscany that

his Highness will be violating neutrality should he allow free passage to the Neapolitan troops seeking to join those of the King of Sardinia. The Tuscan Government, ever measured in its decisions, sees fit to claim the intervention of the Court of Austria.

The Directorate, believing that, in view of all the difficulties which may yet be thrown in the way of the new constitutional establishment, the strength of the Government lies in the nation, and that the maintenance of order must be left to it, gives its attention to organizing the National Guard. It asks for a law compelling defaulters to give in their names and to fulfil their duties as citizens. I repeat to my colleagues that sound policy consists, above all things, in reviving public spirit, avoiding all dissensions among the great powers of the State, to be sparing of dismissals, to welcome and honor Republicans, protect them, encourage them, show confidence in them, and promote them to public offices.

General Colli, Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian Army, informs Bonaparte that the king has sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa to treat for peace. He proposes, in the interests of humanity, that hostilities be suspended during the negotiations. Although several movements and utterances have escaped Bonaparte indicative of a certain inclination to follow his own bent and get rid of the civil authority, of whom he is but the military agent, he feels that it is still necessary for him to intrench himself behind his government. This is in his case both a ruse of war and of diplomacy, so he replies to General Colli that the Directorate has reserved unto itself the right of making treaties; that from the Directorate must emanate the powers to be given to the Ministers who might be sent to Genoa; that the Sardinian Ministers who are in Genoa will be able to accelerate negotiations by proceeding to Paris, but that any suspension of hostilities is impossible unless two or three towns which he designates —Coni, Tortone, and Alessandria—be surrendered to him.

The King of Sardinia consents to surrender Coni and Tortone; he would likewise have surrendered Alessandria, had not the mistake been made of leaving the selection to him.

On the 20th Floréal, the Directorate grants a solemn audience to the officer bearing the flags captured from the enemy by the Army of Italy.

The Government learns of an armed gathering of Prussians,

Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers, numbering, it is said, 60,000 men, under the pretence of defending the line of demarcation during the campaign. Orders are sent to inform Prussia that the French will respect this line. This communication is secretly supported by a few sacrifices.

The Pretender has received at Verona, from the Venetian Government, an order to leave the dominions of that Republic. It is the Marquis Carlotti, a Veronese noble, who has been charged with informing the brother of Louis XVI. of this decision. The Pretender, who had received no previous intimation, immediately replied: "I shall depart, but I impose two conditions: one that the *libro d'oro* wherein is inscribed the name of my family be brought to me, in order that I may strike out the name with my own hand; the other that the armor which my ancestor, Henri IV., presented to the Republic be restored to me." The Podestà of Verona has, in reply to this, sent a protest to the prince through the same Veronese noble. To him the Pretender says: "I will not listen to the protest of your podestà; nor will I entertain those of the Senate. I shall depart immediately on receiving my passports, but my reply is meant as a protest; I owe it to myself, as I cannot forget that I am King of France."

The dignity of this behavior might be considered a matter for ridicule by those who merely took into consideration the distance at which the triumphs of the Republic seemed to hold the House of Bourbon in regard to France. However, fully convinced as I was of the invincible strength of the Republic if once we succeeded in organizing it, I none the less appreciated the honorable firmness of a prince in misfortune. It has never been one of my tenets that it lay

within the power of any triumph whatsoever, even the most definitive, to deprive a constant character of the place it always takes in history through its own weight, in spite of the opposition of contemporaries.

It was from General Bonaparte, who had immediately on his arrival in Italy established a police system, that the Directorate received the first intimation as to the sojourn, and what he called the danger involved in the sojourn, of Louis XVIII. in the Venetian dominions. It was through "a sentiment of hatred against tyrants, and from out of devotion to the chief magistrates of the Republic," that he had been the first to call our attention to the matter and provoke the expulsion of the Bourbon family. I will not say that the delirium of his ambition, although it dates further back, may at this early period have made him see in the surviving Bourbons competitors for the throne. At the very least he saw in the rigorous treatment meted out to them on this occasion a means of acquiring one more title to the patriotism he had made so great a display of at Toulon and on the 13th Vendémiaire. But, amid the information secured by his spies in regard to the inner life of the Pretender, the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy had been unable to state in his police reports anything very unfavorable to the prince. The private life of Louis XVIII. at Verona was a model of regularity. By eight o'clock in the morning he was dressed, decorated with the insignia of his orders, and wearing his sword; he spent the greater portion of the morning in writing, and was during that time visible to his chancellor alone. His table was a frugal one. After dinner he granted a few audiences, then shut himself up in his closet; he was sometimes

heard pacing the room in a state of great agitation. Towards evening his mind quieted down, when he would join his courtiers and enjoy being read to. Never going out, he paid no visits in Verona or in the neighborhood; he read the *Moniteur* regularly, also the principal public prints issued in France; he always bore the name of "Comte de Lille," and when an *émigré* addressed him as "Your Majesty," deep sighs would escape from his bosom. The spies of Bonaparte had orders not to cease watching Louis XVIII., and it may be asserted that henceforth he never lost sight of the Bourbons for a single moment. On Louis XVIII. receiving his passports, he wended his way (2d Floréal, Year IV.) to the Army of Condé, whither he was to proceed in the capacity of a French nobleman. On the evening of the 3d he reached Languna (*sic*), where he preserved the strictest incognito. He took up his quarters in an inn, and saw absolutely no one. At daybreak the next day he continued his journey by way of Switzerland, to rejoin the Army of Condé.

At the time the armies of the Republic were winning their most brilliant victories (Prairial, Year III.) the Army of Condé, learning of the death of the boy it called Louis XVII., had proclaimed in camp the old formula: "Louis XVII. is dead, long live Louis XVIII.!" This simulacrum of a Frank king raised on a shield in the midst of foreign armies with religious pomp, was likely to go to the loyal hearts of the few who had preserved a tenacious attachment for the monarchy, but the Powers had not recognized the new king. Thus, denied by foreigners as well as by Frenchmen, repulsed everywhere with the lack of consideration which follows in the steps of misfort-

une, it needed great strength of character for Louis XVIII. to take his kingly *rôle* seriously. The obstacles and repulsions he had to encounter were altogether different to the opposition formerly shown Henri IV.; but Louis XVIII. possessed that energy of will, or, if one may say, that desperation for the Crown, which convinced him that it remained unshaken by the storm and irrevocably attached to his brow. Compelled, as it has been seen, to leave Verona, none the less did Louis XVIII. consider himself king, and it is altogether as such that he joined the Army of Condé.

At the period I am recalling, the *Army* of Condé (if the word is to be taken as meaning the assemblage of a certain number of men under arms)—that which one persisted in styling the Army of Condé —was no longer an army but in name. It still contained a few wretched deserters from the various regiments of France; all believed themselves officers, and, as a consequence, of soldiers there were none. Nevertheless, in order to duly honor the arrival of the king, all those who had served in one corps were gathered together and clothed in the uniform of their old regiment. Thus were seen regiments of fifteen, ten, and even four men. Louis XVIII. reviewed them with all the solemnity provided by his grave demeanor. "Sire, this is your Regiment of Auvergne," would say just as seriously the Prince de Condé—"this, your Regiment of Auvergne, your Regiment of Champagne, your Regiment of the Crown, your Regiment of Languedoc," and so on. The drums then beat a salute, there was a discharge of cannon. . . .

In spite of the harmlessness of such reviews, the

Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian Army soon forbade them to those for whom they were a consolation or an illusion, as the noise of the artillery might cause an alarm along the line.... Simultaneously the Austrian did us the coquetry of informing the General of the Republican Army of this measure, wishing thus to define relations existing between the two armies, and not show himself connected with the Army of Condé. Providence had not reserved to the Army of Condé the miracle of again placing Louis XVIII. on the throne of his forefathers!...

21st Floréal, Year IV.—In a proclamation, Bonaparte reminds his army that it has won six victories within a fortnight. "Much remains for us to do," he says; "neither Turin nor Milan is ours; the ashes of men like Æmilius, Scipio, and Brutus are still trod upon by the assassins of Basseville; the pride of the kings who dare to meditate loading us with chains must be humbled. We shall wage war as generous foes; we aim at tyrants alone."

Hoche reports that Scépeaux and the Chouans under his orders in the departments of the Mayenne and of the Loire recognize the Republic and lay down their arms.

After crossing the Po, the Army of Italy has fought an engagement at Fondi, and executed most skilful movements which misled the enemy. We have, in connection with this engagement, to deplore the loss of General Laharpe. A suspension of hostilities, on conditions advantageous to the Republic, is concluded with the Duke of Parma.

The Directorate announces to the Councils that peace has been signed with the King of Sardinia; the Councils sanction this treaty.

The Army of Italy has crossed the Adda, and charged over the Bridge of Lodi, in spite of all the resistance opposed by Beaulieu and the means of defence he had gathered about it.

This fresh victory of the Republican Army in Italy will stand on record as one of the most brilliant. Beaulieu, completely routed, proceeds with the remnants of his army towards the Venetian dominions: Milan must soon fall.

Military cares as serious as those engaging Bonaparte's attention, successes as marvellous as those he has obtained, would seem to be sufficient to gratify the most ambitious soul and preserve it from other sensations. In his correspondence he principally displays a fear of his place being filled by another. He believes the intention exists of appointing Kellermann General-in-Chief, while he is to be given a command at the farther end of Italy; he cannot endure being placed under a German whose principles he does not think well of, and whose tone is displeasing to him. It is true that Carnot, who had no liking for Bonaparte, had just for a moment got Kellermann appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Lombardy, but this decision had lasted a few hours only, as I had caused it to be revoked immediately. And yet Bonaparte, who had his friends in council, and who knew just as well what happened in the Directorate as in the closet of Louis XVIII., had been informed of it; hence his anger, his declamation, his affected melancholy, and his threats to retire from active service.

Absorbed above all in the calculations of political and family ambition, Bonaparte nowadays dreads having as his ally Fréron, whose favor he has sought and whose protection he has solicited, both in Paris on the 13th Vendémiaire, and previously at Toulon. His sister Pauline has become enamoured with this very Fréron, who lived with her openly at Marseilles. Under the influence of his affrighted self-love, Bona-

parte causes to be said to me and writes to me the most singular things. The cunning and obliquity of his character is therein, as ever, revealed. In lieu of frankly stating the reasons an elder brother may have for opposing a union in which he does not find for his sister all the advantages and propriety he has the right to desire, he must needs discover weak points in the private life of the man whose flatterer and most humble servant he has been, and into whose society he has considered it an honor to be received; he alleges that Fréron has already a wife, who has borne him children; thus it is in the name of morality that he commits the revolting immorality of not allowing his sister to marry a man who has been her lover; he reserves her for some distinguished general, or for some Italian prince, who will enjoy sufficient superiority to be at the lowest indifferent to these kind of things. . . . Thus does this Tartuffe pave the way to ulterior combinations under the veil of morality, whose defence one would think he is assuming. . . .

CHAPTER VII

An examination of conscience—Danton's famous *mot*—The Directorate's earliest enemies — The Babeuf affair—Who Gracchus Babeuf was—The detective Bacon — Poultier—Prud'homme—The conspiracy revealed — The Justice of the Peace Delorme—Babeuf and Bonaparte—General Blondeau—Laignelot—Ricord — Vadier — Amar — General Rossignol — Antonelle — Chaales—Buonarotti — Germain — Darthé — Drouet—Avowed aims of the conspiracy—Babeuf's letter to the Directorate—Measures taken by the Directorate — My opinion and that of Rewbell — That of Carnot — Final decision of the Directorate—Its proclamation—Seesaw and justice — Carnot's unstableness — Cochon's report—Adjutant-General Jorry — Félix Lepelletier — Odd proposition made by Larevellière-Lépeaux — The *agent provocateur* Grizel —The deputy Bergoing — An attempt to connect me with the conspiracy — Commandant Lefranc — Germain — My position in regard to the Babouvistes — Cochon's schemes against me—My conference with Rewbell — Explosion in the Directorate — My colleagues' protestations.

It has been shown how fortune smiles on the new Government. We might think we had found the veritable hygiene of the body-politic; but when is this consummation really to be reached? When shall our Fatherland enjoy the advantages due to its courage and the virtues of the French people? Before relating the obstacles to be strewn along our path, calling forth fresh struggles, I feel the need of examining myself for a moment and laying bare my conscience to the reader, who will judge what that conscience has the right to lay claim to in what follows, and what was ever my political line of conduct.

My heart being inclined to moderation and justice, I may even say generosity, towards the weak, the defeated, or the unfortunate, to whatever class they may belong, I could not help feeling a real predilection for the men of our party whom I called and believed to be sincere Republicans. They were in my eyes the soldiers of the grand army of freemen of whom I was one of the commanders. Now the first duty of a general is not to fire on his own troops, but to enlighten, direct, care for them, and forgive much to those who display bravery on the day of battle; the fight had begun on the first day of the Revolution, and it must needs be admitted that, two armies being face to face, it was imperative that I should belong to the one whose standard I followed, and at the very least show some consideration for it. It was in this sense that Danton said that "a patriot must be thrice in the wrong ere he is proceeded against." For when our enemy is in front of us, the instinct of self-preservation commands us to remain united. It is consequently from a well-defined interest, as much as from any sentiment, that those of us to whom circumstances have given a power and fortune bringing them to the front must honor and justify their elevation by aiding and giving succor to those whom fate has left in the rear. This practical maxim is one from which I have never deviated; it seems that it should have entitled me to some gratitude, or at least to some regard on the part of those whose less fortunate position specially commended them to my consideration. Unlucky the man doing anything in this world with the hope of gratitude, and to whom the testimony of his conscience is not sufficient reward.

If motives of delicacy have restrained me from mentioning the names of so many individuals who confidently approached me, and whom I assisted in the fulness of my heart and within the limits prescribed by our collective powers and my personal resources, why must it be that these men who are to be the first to raise the standard of insurrection against the Directorate, seeking both the destruction of persons and things, seeking to overthrow the foundations of the new social organization, be precisely those more intimately connected with the cause of patriotism? The reader doubtless foresees that I refer to the Babeuf affair, concerning which there was more noise than *éclat*, but I must nevertheless give a few particulars, if only on account of the *rôle* ascribed to me in connection with it.

This Babeuf, with the assumed prænomen of Gracchus, is no other than one Camille Babeuf to whom several biographers give the Christian name of *François Noël*. Several years previous to his exercising administrative functions in the district of Montdidier he had been charged with forgery, and condemned in default to twenty years' imprisonment. This sentence, annulled by the criminal tribunal on a matter of form, had been, at the time of the creation of the Directorate, denounced by us to the *Cour de Cassation* (Appellate Court). I should consider I was giving my support to all the assertions generally given credit to so readily in cases of misfortune and defeat were I to narrate as facts the stories with which the history of that conspirator was embellished in those days. His enemies held that matters of form had alone saved him on this occasion. The fact is that as a result of this affair

there had clung to him prejudices which, compelled to cease judicially in the face of a legal acquittal, had nevertheless joined with public opinion in preventing Babeuf from following a political career. It is troubles like these, made to render miserable an honest soul, that react doubly on an ambitious one. It was pretended that Babeuf was in the same position as the men of whom the historian of Catilina says "that they need novelty" in order to mend their affairs. What in this case is styled remorse and pangs of conscience, may full well in an honest heart be naught but the sentiment of injustice, especially when, closely allied to stigma, it leaves its mark on its unfortunate victim. Hence it was that Babeuf was carried to the most violent degree of irritation against a social order which embodies and carries hidden in its bosom like fatalities; hence it was that Babeuf was led to rise in rebellion against society itself, and to cross and destroy all its limits in order to appeal to nature. Jean Jacques Rousseau's perpetual invocations to nature against society have perhaps no other starting-point. Perhaps the implacable bitterness of Robespierre, which could not be satiated nor appeased with the blood of his opponents, knowing no other object than the extermination of the whole of society, had no other source than some early injustice for which there had been no reparation.

I had learned several months previous from one of the principal detectives, Bacon by name, from the deputy Poultier, and from the revolutionist Prud'homme, everything that Babeuf was attempting and inciting others to do, both in the faubourgs and at meetings. Bonaparte, when General of the

Interior, had closed his eyes to the incipient acts committed as early as in his day. He was even suspected of having kept them shut most willingly until the day I compelled him to take sides by ordering him to close the Panthéon. For connected by circumstances, principles, and all his antecedents with the leaders and subordinates of demagogy, the author of the *Souper de Beaucaire* had been compelled to favor them up to that time, in the sense that his ambition, which had always been triumphant in previous political movements, could but triumph in many ways and particularly in the present instance; and, with the sole difference of the military garb and profession, Bonaparte was, no less than Babeuf, in the position of Catilina. But just as in the state of embarrassment and in spite of his perplexity on the 13th Vendémiaire between the Convention and the "sections" he had on that occasion given the preference to the Convention, which appointed him general of division, so did he on the present one give the preference to the Directorate, which could and did appoint him general-in-chief. It is true that I had been close enough at his heels for his decision, already counselled by his interest, to at least enjoy the merit of choice. Judging from some words which escaped his lips subsequently, I was justified in the belief that if the decisive action of closing the Panthéon could not be gainsaid him, he perhaps felt a secret joy at leaving behind him fermenting elements of discord, with which we should be locked in struggle when he would have the luck of being separated from them by virtue of his far-off command. I come to the facts which will give every one his due.

The Directorate, informed in the most precise manner of the existence of a plot hatched previous to the closing of the Panthéon and about to be put into execution, and cognizant of the place where the conspirators assembled, unanimously and without hesitancy ordered the arrest of them all. Their place of reunion in the Rue Bleue was surrounded by a force under Adjutant-General Blondeau, attached to the guard of the Directorate, and the expedition intrusted to the Justice of the Peace Delorme. Those pointed out as the leaders were—Babeuf, the author of the *Tribun de Peuple*, and assuming this title together with the name of Gracchus; Laignelot, Ricord, Vadier, and Amar, ex-members of the Convention; General Rossignol, Antonelle, Chaales, Buonarotti, Germain, Darthé, the former secretary to Joseph Le Bon; Drouet, the former postmaster of Varennes, an ex-member of the Convention, and, at the time, a deputy just released from Austrian prisons.

The conspiracy was to burst forth on the 22d Floréal. Its aim, frankly and boldly set forth in the documents seized, was the pure and simple establishment of the Constitution of 1793, a National Convention sustained by a new Committee of Public Safety; the overthrow and transportation of the Councils, the Directorate, and the staff of the Paris garrison. The conspirators were to take possession of the Treasury and of Mendon. In addition to this *death, death* at every line for whoever should make the slightest display of resistance to the conspirators, and it was in the name of *death* that they called themselves saviors of the people, and men of deliverance. Thus aim and means, both equally

violent, were in harmony with this perturbating system. Not only was it their intention to become masters of all civil and military posts, but also of all properties, because, they argued, "there is no such thing as property," in order to place the people in the possession and enjoyment of a "common happiness." These acts of frenzy, surpassing all the deeds of the Revolution, were fully established by numerous documents actually seized, and which we had printed. Moreover, in his interrogatory, Babeuf admitted the genuineness of all these elementary documents of the conspiracy.

In an attempt to go even beyond the contents of the documents and the incredible avowals made in the course of his interrogatory, Gracchus Babeuf writes to the Directorate that it must be convinced, from the discovery of the conspiracy, of the vast confidence centring in him, and the immense ramifications attached to it. He goes on to say that the interest of the Fatherland should be a bar to any *éclat* being given to the discovery of the plot. "Would you," he proceeds, "consider it beneath you to treat with me on a footing of equality? I am not denying anything; I have proclaimed, and I still more loudly proclaim, the sanctity of the conspiracy one of whose members I was. Declare boldly that it does not present any dangerous features; show yourselves great and generous, and the Fatherland is saved! Republicans will protect you with their bodies. Govern in popular fashion 'if you are of the people.' You are acquainted with the great influence I wield as a tribune; I will use it for the purpose of reconciling the public to you, and I will give you pledges for your safety." This let-

ter, a long one, is it anything more than the production of a madman, who makes pretence of braving death while really begging for his life?

The Directorate, when informing the Councils of the discovery of the conspiracy, asked leave to place seals on Drouet's papers; it also thought proper to ask for authority to expel all dangerous men from Paris; it considered such for the time being the ex-members of the Convention who had not been re-elected, the *émigrés* whose names had not yet been finally struck off the proscription list, and foreigners. These propositions were immediately adopted.

When in presence of a great peril, the idea uppermost is to avert it, and all means apparently tending to that goal are good. A little more reflection teaches us that the dread of an evil leads us to a worse one. At the time this affair was still flagrant, Rewbell and I, in spite of our having in all sincerity given our adhesion to the measures of repression adopted, were not slow in recognizing that perhaps they had been extended out of proportion to the requirements of the circumstances; it was doubtless proper to reach the actual conspirators, and expel from Paris all dangerous elements, but not throw a net over innocent men by ranking as guilty men whose opinions, while akin to those of the conspirators, were harmless; this was but multiplying the enemies of the Government; on the contrary, it was necessary to rally and reassure all, and display more than ever the strength of the Directorate in its security, coupled with the firmness which pursues the even tenor of its way, and is able, with the aid of the laws, to hold its own

against all factions. Terror had seized upon our colleagues, and perhaps this terror concealed sentiments less openly confessed to — those of private hatreds, which too often hope to come to the surface and meet with success in public crises. Hence the ideas of Rewbell and myself were disregarded, and we were repulsed peremptorily and without discussion. Carnot had, since our installation, been the first to proclaim that the Directorate should govern and strengthen itself by wisdom and moderation; but he had perhaps not renounced as much as he believed, or sought to have it believed, the ways of the Committee of Public Safety, which he was seeking to make people forget, and he said, dryly, "Death for those who conspired to mete out death to us; 'tis the law of retaliation; you will never get rid of the Jacobins in any other way."

I replied to Carnot that the Jacobins were not our only enemies; that we should guard against increasing their numbers by smiting innocent ones; that, above all, it behooved us not to ignore and treat with contempt the existence of the opposite party, which was committing the most odious excesses in the South; that it was proper to repress perturbators, but that all peaceful citizens should enjoy justice and protection. I gained nothing by this speech; but the next day, when Rewbell and I renewed the attack, we induced the Directorate to proceed in this circumstance carefully and thoughtfully. The Directorate does not wish that severe measures, taken in view of public security, should become personal persecutions in the case of some, and encourage the idea of impunity with others; the law must reign over all and for all, without

exceptions or show of preference. The Directorate, in a proclamation setting forth these sentiments, declares it will repress every reaction, and deal severely with the assassins of Republicans in the South.

These expressions, which cost Rewbell and myself much trouble to have inserted, were not a return to what is styled a seesaw system, by which the Royalists were smitten as a compensation for our being compelled to smite Republicans; they were, on the contrary, founded on the necessity of re-establishing the equilibrium of justice in society. In order to properly carry out such a system, one should have deprived of their command the military chiefs who protected the contrary system. Rewbell asked in vain that these really guilty men should be arrested and dismissed the service, but Carnot paralyzed every effort in this direction, imparting to his action an ardor and irritability through which pierce the germs of fatal dissensions, unfortunately sown even now, and to burst forth later.

The Minister Cochon, devoted to Carnot, displayed much eagerness in submitting to us his report on the removal of the seals which he had caused to be affixed in the domicile of Deputy Drouet. There had been found a few rather insignificant documents, proving, perhaps, intercourse with Babeuf, but still not of a nature to justify the arrest of a representative of the people, as if caught red-handed. The Minister made Drouet's case appear far worse than it really was, and vehemently insisted on his guiltiness; he was desirous of including in the batch several deputies, among others Laignelot and Ricord, and connecting them with

the conspirators. These two *ex-conventionnels*, leading a retired life and holding aloof from public affairs, in connection with which they had suffered great tribulations, seemed, in my eyes, to be above any suspicion justifying their being molested in such a fashion. I considered it was just as unfair to prosecute Adjutant-General Jorry, an honorable soldier, a man of courage and fine character, qualities that are not so very common. Although in no way connected with Félix Lepelletier, ever faithful to the memory of his brother, our illustrious colleague, and, in spite of my having perhaps personal grounds of complaint against him, I none the less defended him most strenuously, because it was sought to make a victim of him, a thing I could hardly believe nowadays, did not my notes, written at the very time, afford proof of it. Did not one of our colleagues, Larevellière-Lépeaux, propose that the Minister of Police be ordered to place Félix Lepelletier on the list of the *émigrés?* What a measure, nay, what an invention of arbitrariness! This illustrates whither fear or anger will lead, since such an idea could enter the head of as upright a man as Larevellière. I hasten to proclaim, to the honor of the Directorate, that it was unanimously rejected; I say unanimously, for I saw Larevellière-Lépeaux blush at it himself immediately after having proposed it.

Carnot and I still disagreed as to the methods of prosecution. As I have already said, this Director brought singular passion to bear on this affair. His anger was possibly actuated by several motives he perhaps did not account for to himself. In the first place, the desire of causing to be forgotten, when

hunting down the Jacobins, that he had himself been one of those very Jacobins, at any rate, in the Year II., for, whatever a man's branch might be in the Committee of Public Safety, there was no means of escaping being a Jacobin, both in name and deed; in the second, to revenge himself of personal attacks made on him by Jacobinical newspapers; and lastly, the third motive of the increased activity and violence displayed by Carnot in the prosecution of the Babeuf conspiracy is that he was most anxious to appear as the author of its discovery, and he laid great importance on demonstrating that he had not made a mistake nor been deceived in the matter. It was indeed to Carnot that the first particulars about the plot had been supplied a few days previously. The information was brought to him by one Grizel, himself at first an actual participator in it, but who, as is the wont of informers, alleged that he had merely joined it in order to be able to reveal its existence to the Government. After having, in the course of several interviews with the chief conspirators, sought to gain their confidence; after having consented to write a pamphlet in favor of the cause of the conspirators (a pamphlet duly printed and circulated); after associating himself with that sect of malcontents, the *agent provocateur*, paid and employed for that purpose by Carnot, had denounced not only the chiefs, but a considerable number of loyal citizens who were not in the secret of the directing committee, and were totally ignorant of the means it intended, so it was said, having recourse to in order to secure a government more democratic than the Directorate. The infamous Grizel had come to believe that his accusations,

mostly lying ones, made of him an important personage whose livelihood the Government's gratitude should provide for. He asked for no less than a high position in the colonies, this savior of the great powers of the State. Rewbell and I again found ourselves disagreeing with Carnot in the matter of the merits of Monsieur Grizel.

We were in the midst of discussions already becoming too bitter in themselves, because the speakers were animated with an angry feeling, while those who remained silent felt resentful over their silence, when a member of the Five Hundred, whose vigilant friendship was for me like a protective police, the deputy Bergoing (Gironde), informed me that it was sought to connect me with the Babeuf conspiracy. I declare that Babeuf was absolutely unknown to me, but it had been ascertained that I had on several occasions had interviews with one Major Lefranc, a man of most pronounced republican opinions; also, that I occasionally received Germain, both of them implicated in the plot; and out of these far-fetched circumstances a pretext had been sought for to connect me with the affair to which I was altogether foreign.

I have ere now too frequently and too loudly made revelation and profession of the sentiments governing my conduct towards the men and things of the Revolution for me to have anything to disown or reaffirm at this juncture, when the reader is perhaps scrutinizing me in order to judge of my innocence or guiltiness. I have already stated that having from the outset of the Revolution considered the nation as divided into two armies, the one composed of patriots, the other of aristocrats, as they

were styled in the beginning, the first principle of warfare had seemed to me to have, above all, a thorough knowledge of one another, not to do one another any harm, but to seek to do one another all the good possible; in short, to remain united, in order to go to battle a strong and compact force. Victory has ever crowned the arms and nations following this course. This theory, which my heart revealed to me, a theory ever that of our great masters in revolution as in war, I had ever lived up to when holding subordinate positions. I could not forsake it when I was borne to the summit of the Republic by the esteem and affection of the people. Still I did not draw from this principle of fraternity the conclusion that men, who, styling themselves patriots, and indulging in every aberration of which the law takes cognizance, should claim it as a privilege. In the particular circumstance now referred to, I could have been but little inclined to indulgence towards the conspirators had I reasoned only from feelings of interest and gratitude, since I was placed by the Babouvistes at the head of the guilty ones to whom they reserved death; for the 13th Vendémiaire could not in their eyes absolve me from having brought about the 9th Thermidor, and my name was, in their plans, at the head of the Thermidorians, whom they had, as well as Tallien, "sentenced to shoulder the bird" (an expression used by masons, and signifying to carry the hod) towards the rebuilding of the hall of the Jacobins. Carnot did not come until after me in the vindictive designs of these veritable revolutionary tribunes. But it was from this very reason of a partiality, which, on my part, was more excited against them

that, while not seeking to give myself the airs of a generosity courting popularity, I considered it proper to impose a greater reserve upon myself, and to mete out more calm and deliberate justice.

Hence it was my opinion that matters should not be pushed too far, that our colleagues of the Convention should be dealt with lightly, as men who had voted as Republicans on all occasions, or had defended the Fatherland threatened with so serious a danger in Vendémiaire. Had it not been for the bold front shown by the survivors, who were to-day indiscriminately called Jacobins and Terrorists, would we not, we members of the Directorate, have been devoured by the members of the *Compagnies de Jéhu* and *du Soleil*, which, while daily indulging in assassination in the South, were still, in spite of all the charges duly reported against them, honored and sustained in the bosom of the Legislature by the sophistic lawyers of the new Third?

M. Benjamin Constant, in his patriotic but somewhat circumspect treatise, Mme. de Staël, in her elegant commentaries, had both laid down the principle that the precious reserve force of the *Sacred Battalion* should at least be retained. They had without hesitation given this name to our patriots whom they also called the Government's best artillery, but nowadays it was sought to dub it terrorism and no more. My opinion, dictated to me by my conscience, which it satisfied, was that the solid union of all patriots who were and who are still engaged in struggle in this world with tyrants and aristocrats, seemed to me the best means of assuring the difficult organization of the French Republic. Such were my desires; to this end did my

efforts sincerely tend, unconnected with any intrigue or conspiracy, still less that of Monsieur Gracchus Babeuf. Personally, in my directorial position, could I consider the alleged tribune of the people anything else than a personal enemy? The connivance of a member of the Directorate with the destructive plans of Babeuf would have been tantamount to an act of parricide, or, at the very least, of suicide.

But the men whose mean souls admitted of narrow views only were not made to understand me and give me credit for my intentions. In the hope, therefore, of finding some weak and tangible point in the relations I might have entertained with Germain previous to the incredible conspiracy, Cochon (I cannot imagine that Carnot instigated him in this attempt) conceived the idea of himself interrogating Germain, of throwing out certain hints, and even making advantageous offers to him, in order to induce him to make revelations against me.

All these attempts were repulsed with equal indignation by the prisoner Germain, the fearless conspirator, who believed he was above reproach. Germain, who was then very young, was well educated, spoke with great ease, and bade fair to be one of the genuine orators of the Republic; he would have defended the Fatherland from the tribune with as much honor as he had shown bravery when in the army. All these intrigues against me having been revealed, I spoke of the matter with Rewbell, who said to me, "I know something about it. There is no doubt that machinations are being carried on against you; your enemies are mine; I await further particulars to

trample them down; we are stronger than they are, and so we are in their way; it is sought to remove us from the Directorate. After striking you they will strike others; we must demand an explanation. Our colleagues are blinded by self-love and deceived by the masked intentions of the conspirators gathered together at Clichy."

At the opening of the sitting, at which the Minister of Police was present, I unfolded the intrigues practised with the object of creating a false conspiracy within the real one, and involving me in it. Conventicles having this object in view had been held between several deputies and members of the Directorate. I called upon all those who had taken part in this, including the Minister of Police, to inform me of all conversations held and measures adopted. I was cognizant of all the premeditated ruses of my enemies, who were prepared to invoke the intervention of the Legislature in order to place me on my trial: Directors and Ministers present, all of them unanimously denied having given credence to the rumors spread by people ill-disposed towards me. This somewhat constrained denial did not satisfy me. I stated that I required public satisfaction, such as honor demanded, especially in the case of a military man. "I do not dread the accusation; I challenge it. Dare but to make it," I exclaimed, defending my conscience, "and I will unmask those among us who have betrayed public confidence, and are wanting in dignity. I am going to ask to be admitted into the Council of Five Hundred." I thereupon showed the letter I had written to that effect.

My sharp apostrophe was followed by a profound

silence, broken by Rewbell, who, springing up, exclaimed angrily, "I am naught but a lawyer, but did I not possess the courage of taking up an affair of honor such as that of Barras, I would have that of taking my life to conceal my shame." Thereupon each one came to quiet me down, and point out to me the danger of giving the matter publicity. "Anarchy and royalism," they said to me, "will *rally* to Barras to divide us, and by means of such division overthrow our institutions. We all seek a common goal; we disagree as to means only. No information nor charge shall be brought against you; we would share it were it ever to happen; let us therefore become reconciled, let all disunion cease, and the Fatherland suffer nothing." I accepted these denials and excuses, akin to entreaties. It was known that my first impulses were ever energetic, sometimes good, passionate, but not always sustained. And especially was I given credit for a heart void of gall and rancor. Mutual protestations of goodwill were exchanged, and the sitting brought to a close.

CHAPTER VIII

Fresh intrigues—Meetings at Clichy—Views of the Aristocrats—The struggle commences—Relations with Russia—Catherine—Her terrible despotism—Hoche lays siege to Nantes—Letter from the Pretender to the Army of Condé—Marshal Würmser—The ardor of the Dutch patriots dying out—Letter from Kellermann—Opening of the campaign on the Rhine—Indiscretion of Barthélemy, chargé d'affaires at Bâle—How it is redeemed—Preliminaries of peace with the Duke of Modena—Treaty of peace with Sardinia—Bonaparte's proclamation—Fox's speech in Parliament on the Treaty of Pillnitz—Pitt combats him—The deputy Lacuée—His proposition to the Legislature—The Directorate's order to Bonaparte in regard to Leghorn—The Corsicans and Paoli—Pérignon succeeds Dugommier as commander of the Army of the Pyrenees—Pérignon sent as ambassador to Madrid—His conduct—His blunders at the table of the Prince of Peace—His recall—Preparations against Austria—Protection granted to the minor States of Germany—Cessation of the armistice with Austria—Our successes—Insurrections in Italy—Pavia stormed—Punishment of the rebels—Bonaparte's victory—His letter to the Venetians—Projected expedition to America—Negotiations with the Pope—Richeri and Admiral Solano—Expedition beyond the Cape of Good Hope—Admiral Sircey.

WHILE the Babouvist party was pressing us so hard, with the object of strangling us as Royalists and even tyrants, true patriots, among whom I dare count myself, were compelled to defend themselves of the charge of being Babeuf's accomplices, and were a prey to further inner intrigues, originating with deputies composing a certain portion of the Councils. It will be readily understood that refer-

ence is being made to the new Third which had entered the Legislature, through a selection made by the counter-revolutionaries defeated on the 13th Vendémiaire. These deputies, and in particular those meeting at Clichy, daily beset the Directorate for the purpose of having certain appointments recalled, in order to substitute for them others more to their liking. It would have suited them to renew as best pleased them all departmental and municipal authorities. Demands less imperiously and loudly preferred might perhaps have been acceded to, subject to a few modifications, but it had become impossible not to reject them. Such was the decisive opinion of Rewbell, who for a long time swayed the majority in the Directorate; his irritation grew on witnessing the opposition made to all attempts at an organization, by means of which the new civil authorities could alone establish a connection between the Government and the nation, and the confidence of the nation in its Government. In seeking to settle matters according to their own particular ideas, the men whom the victory of the 13th Vendémiaire had not prevented entering the Legislature believed that they could resume the even tenor of their plans. Already successful in securing positions for a portion of their creatures, they sought to get us to eliminate all remaining republican functionaries by treating them as Jacobins and anarchists. Failing in this latter part of their plot, the Royalists no longer placed any restraint on themselves in regard to the Directorate; we were, according to them, nothing but Terrorists. This reprobation, by which it was sought to bring us into disrepute, attacked the Government in its honor and primary

means of action. The patriot party of the Councils of the National Convention came to our rescue, so that what had at first seemed nothing more than a lively dispute degenerated into a serious struggle, to the great grief of all true citizens; it received encouragement from the foreigner, who hoped to find in this anti-national party the means of overthrowing the Republic.

Home troubles could not make us unmindful of the Republic's interests abroad. Our attention is turned towards Russia, which refuses to receive Sweden's ambassador. Catherine has grievances against the Duke Regent of Söderman-land; she treats him with scant courtesy, accusing him of having sought to deceive her by insidious overtures and propositions, and having entered into relation with the French; she impatiently awaits the majority of the king, since known as Gustavus IV., whose place Bernadotte will later fill *ad interim*. The Directorate, in pursuance of the old accepted opinion, carried to the extent of prejudice, of the importance of our connection with Sweden, treats this connection not only with good-will, but in a generous spirit. The Scandinavians have for ages been known as "the Gascons of the North." Both nobles and governors of that country fully justify this appellation; like the Smyrna merchant spoken of by Chamfort, they believe and practise the maxim that "one must forever complain and forever ask." It would, perhaps, be somewhat difficult to estimate the kind services with which they repay the subsidies they get, now from England, now from France—in short, from all those whose affection they claim to value. Be

28th Floréal, Year IV.

this as it may, the Directorate, in this matter still in the old diplomatic rut, thinks proper to supply money to the Swedes, whose interest may cause them to be considered as a species of scouts watching Russia. In consequence of this we continued to grant to Sweden a few more subsidies, not as large, however, as those formerly granted by the old Government of France.

Catherine still metes out severe treatment to unhappy Poland; she decrees that all Poles having daughters who have reached the age of ten shall deposit their dowries in the imperial coffers. It is the empress herself who undertakes to provide husbands for them in due time. Never did despot display greater contempt for feelings and the rights of nature; there is in the world but Bonaparte who will in times to come renew this species of oppression in a civilized country. He also will find husbands for girls, and dispose of their dowries in lieu of their fathers enjoying this right.

General Hoche successfully proceeds, in spite of continual difficulties, with the work of pacifying La Vendée. In a letter stamped with dignity addressed to the authorities of Nantes, the skilful general notices with regret the slow progress made by reason, whose voice has not yet been listened to in the northern part of the department of the Loire-Inférieure; but he is nevertheless sufficiently sure of the ascendency given him by his military exploits to believe that the arms of reason are those which should take the place of force; he causes the state of siege of Nantes and several other important towns to be raised.

It has been previously told how, after his expulsion

by the Venetian authorities, the Pretender Louis XVIII. had proceeded to join the Army of Condé, and had in all earnestness reviewed that grotesque force which no longer existed except on paper, with a view of making England supply its pay as if it were really an efficient body. Louis XVIII. continued playing with important gravity his kingly *rôle;* he thought it incumbent upon himself to write to Marshal Würmser the following letter, transmitted to the Directorate by the General-in-Chief of the Army of the Rhine: "I give you notice that I have joined the army of the French *émigrés*, resolved as I am to fight with them for the most just of causes, which may God be pleased to favor! Let not Your Excellency think that it is my intention to make the slightest change in the command, or to deprive it of the Prince de Condé or General Latour, who is acquitting himself of it with so much courage, bravery, and fame. No, I merely come to share with my brave soldiers as a private the perils and fatigues of war, and to follow the campaign under the orders of the two generals in that capacity."

The Batavian Assembly has delayed sending a commissioner to Paris for the purpose of concerting the operations of the campaign. The Directorate complains of this delay. The enthusiasm of the Dutch patriots is no longer the same; they have been oppressed and despoiled, and are discontented; the Orange party has taken advantage of this discontent to exploit it against France.

Kellermann, General-in-Chief of the Army of the Alps, congratulates the Directorate on its triumph over the factious parties in Paris: he is alluding to the Babeuf conspiracy.

29th Floréal, Year IV.

Hostilities are about to be renewed on the Rhine; England, which is subsidizing Austria, has succeeded in getting set aside all overtures towards the peace coveted by the latter power. The Directorate an-

nounces to the armies of Sambre-et-Meuse, of the Rhine, of the Moselle, and of the North, that the campaign is about to open, and reckons on their courage and patriotism.

Barthélemy has communicated in the original to the magistrates of Bâle special instructions of some peremptoriness. They have reference to the right of sojourn granted to *émigrés*, whom the Baslois should not tolerate on their territory; they also point out to them the urgent necessity of placing their frontiers in a state of defence, in order to reassure Switzerland and France. The Directorate would hold responsible those who would not cause neutrality to be respected. The ambassador has compromised the Government by this indiscreet communication. The magistrates of Bâle, in their reply to Barthélemy, display a show of temper they mistake for spirit. "We are to be won," they say, "by friendship and uprightness; distrust and censure alienate our hearts." They think it possible to avoid the issue by thus recriminating against our methods. Barthélemy is to present another note; he is not only to complain of the inattentive impropriety of the magistrates of Bâle, but also of their neglect to answer the serious observations contained in the first note.

The Duke of Modena has, on the approach of one of the columns of the Army of Italy, adopted the course of leaving and seeking refuge in Venice, whither he has conveyed some fifty millions of sequins amassed by him with farseeing avarice; it is from Venice that the Duke of Modena, as unworthy of his baptismal name as of that of Este, once illustrious, carries on negotiations. So far from showing any generosity to the defeated, Bonaparte already displays against them his taste for sarcastic remarks, and the enjoyment he feels at humiliating them. The Duke of Modena, a descendant of the illustrious House of Este, received at his christening the name of Hercules III. Bonaparte informs us that "Prince Hercules is as unworthy of his baptismal name as of his descent from the noble House of Este." He likewise tells us that he learns that the Duke's confidential negotiator, the Seignior Frederic, is his illegitimate brother and the son of a French dancer. The Directorate, considering that there is as little unity as utility in these particulars, sees fit to eliminate them from the publication it is making of the letters of the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy. While not desirous,

Prairial, Year IV.

moreover, of reprimanding one whose youth and victory may give the right to some excitement, the Directorate commissions the Minister of Foreign Affairs to address Bonaparte privately on the matter. The armistice is concluded some days later, and the Duke announces his intention of sending ministers to Paris to conclude a final peace. By way of preliminaries, he submits to paying a heavy contribution, to furnish provisions and munitions of war to the army, and to give, or rather to offer, to the French Republic twenty pictures to be selected from his gallery. The Duke and Duchy of Parma are treated almost similarly to Modena.

Bonaparte writes that the treaty of peace with Sardinia has been favorably received by the army; he is gracious enough to attribute the honor of it to the Directorate, and in one of his proclamations, wherein he is beginning to affect the tone of giving each one his due, he congratulates both the army and the Directorate.

From the time that France has seemed to enjoy a regular government the liberty it represents is viewed with greater confidence, and finds an echo which is boldly repeated by the most honorable men of both Europe and America. The voice of Fox is raised in England's Parliament to censure the Treaty of Pillnitz, a first act of hostility against and insult to France, and the beginning of the war incited against the Republic. Austria had joined in this treaty on condition only that Prussia should be a co-signatory. Prussia herself had hesitated for a while. The English had been flattered with the hope of retaking Dunkirk. Fox also disapproves of the conduct of the agent Wickham. His intercourse with Barthélemy was carried on without the authorization of the latter's government. The terror and hatred of the opposite party, roused by the French Republic, are still the lever of the English Ministry. Pitt is sure of his majority in the Chambers, and, after their having subscribed to a few words spoken on behalf of liberty, Pitt causes Fox's motion to be rejected.

The deputy Lacuée, whose intrigues at all times have never been based on profound views, nevertheless presents as such the idea of adjourning the Legislature. This idea has been concerted between two members of the Directorate and several deputies in the Council of Ancients. "The time is propitious," says citizen Lacuée; "the adjournment I propose would be ad-

vantageous this very day; I reserve unto myself to develop my idea in the matter. The Council of Ancients passes to the order of the day on the proposition."

The port of Leghorn constitutes an extremely useful position for England, both for its commerce as well as for the putting in and provisioning of her ships. The Directorate writes to Bonaparte to close Leghorn to the English and place a French garrison in it. This measure is all the more urgent as the insurgents of Corsica are masters of Ajaccio, where they have hoisted the tricolor flag; after having been deceived by Paoli, now in England, they have rallied to the French side. Saint-Florent is in their hands; Leghorn once closed to the English, the latter will not be able to stay for any length of time in the Mediterranean. The Directorate promises support and protection to the Republican party in Corsica. It has sent to join the armies a few troops which remained within the constitutional limits around Paris; the Directorate, governed by the terror inspired by the conspiracy recently unmasked, but so far not brought to trial, begs the Legislature, on the motion of Carnot, to empower it to replace these troops by others. The anxiety and even dread which one takes pleasure in entertaining, will cause the adoption of all repressive measures that shall be proposed.

On the veritable hero of Toulon and the Eastern Pyrenees, General Dugommier, the conqueror of Spaniards, being killed, his place is filled by General Pérignon, the senior general of division. Peace, the first negotiations towards which had been so happily inaugurated by Dugommier, having been concluded, the Directorate believes it is showing its gratitude to the army by appointing Dugommier's successor to the Madrid embassy. This mediocre general shows himself at the very least a weak ambassador, taking boorishness for dignity, flattery for politeness, and unable to keep within bounds or make others do so. On being invited to dinner on the festal day of St. Louis by the Prince of the Peace, he ought perhaps to have remembered, first, that this fête was not that of the Republic, and, next, have had a proper conception of his rank as ambassador of France, and have insisted, on the occasion of a formal dinner, on occupying one of the seats next to the Prince of the Peace. He suffered them to be taken by the ambassador of England and a lady, which, under the circumstances, looked like an insult. Moreover, he accepted

presents of all kinds from him, in violation of all the proprieties. The Directorate, discovering the mistake it has committed in making this selection, at once recalls Pérignon from Spain. The youthful French Republic must be respected by the old governments, and cannot, under penalty of death, hesitate or capitulate in regard to questions of honor as she understands them or as others do.

The Minister of War is ordered to despatch to the Rhine the rest of the available troops in the interior. Austria is making powerful preparations; the troops of the Empire have been ordered to join the army of Würmser, which is concentrating in the Breisgau.

Several states of the Empire have claimed the protection of Prussia, and appealed to France, asking her to protect them from the military executions with which they are threatened for not having furnished their contingent, and having treated for and concluded a peace with the French Republic. The Directorate prescribes certain communications to the press in regard to the matter. The troops destined to defend the line of neutrality are to prevent all military executions.

Austria has notified General Jourdan of the cessation of the armistice. As a consequence, the French army has taken up forward positions. The bridge on the Rhine near Cologne has been barricaded, and headquarters have been moved to the Moselle. On the 13th Prairial the enemy is beaten in the Hunsrück and on the Sieg, and has met with another check on the 16th, losing his guns and several thousand men killed or taken prisoners.

Threatening insurrections have broken out in Italy at several important points. Gatherings have taken place at Verona, Lodi, and Pavia. The citizens of the last-named town placed the French garrison under arrest and closed its gates. Bonaparte hastened to the spot, and, after summoning the citizens to open them, shattered them with artillery. The town was stormed, and the rebels defeated. A commission tried—*i.e.*, had the leaders shot. In a proclamation Bonaparte attributes the insurrection to the nobles, priests, and rich and privileged classes. Italy is ours in its entirety; we occupy Verona; victories follow in succession; the Mincio is crossed; the army is on the banks of the Adige, and occupies Rivoli. An engagement has taken place at Borghetto; the enemy has lost over 1500 men, and retreats by

way of Venetian territory. Bonaparte has manœuvred skilfully; he has entered Peschiera, which the Venetians had suffered Beaulieu to occupy; he has written to the Venetians that he will pursue the enemy on their territory, but that he will not forget the long-existing friendship between the two republics: it is with Austria alone that France is at war.

Resolved upon entering into negotiations with the Republic, the Pope gives powers to that effect to his agents. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Chevalier d'Azara, has constituted himself mediator in the name of his Cabinet. If it is not decided to overthrow the government of the Sovereign Pontiff, he is at all events to be heavily mulcted, and shall deliver works of art to be selected by us. The Directorate, which thus causes the French name to be respected in Italy, is planning an expedition to the islands of America. Richeri, who is in command of eight French ships at Cadiz, is to concert with Admiral Solano, the commander of the Spanish squadron. If this operation is well carried out, it will deal the English a fatal blow.

I had on several occasions proposed an expedition beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The Directorate adopts the proposition; Admiral Sircey is appointed commander of the division which is to give chase to the English in those latitudes; he is to enter into relations with the governing princes of the peninsula of India.

CHAPTER IX

Brands of discord—The deputy Doulcet—One of his speeches—Admission of the denunciation against Drouet—The Five Hundred on the Babouvistes—Explanations furnished by the Directorate—The *Almanach National*—The detective D'Ossonville—One Gonor—Rivalry among detectives—Message of the Directorate in regard to the warrants issued on the 22d Floréal—Perfidious interpretations—False alarms spread by the enemies of the Directorate—France's state—Fresh diatribes of Thibaudeau—Saying attributed to Rewbell—A fight for offices—Paré dismissed—Furious utterance of a Director against the Babouvistes—Proscription list—The Minister Blaw recalled—Carnot wishes M. Doulcet appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

AT a time when the French Republic is triumphant in every direction, when its government is planning noble enterprises, and peace has been established with several Powers, why must fresh brands of discord once more be thrown in France by those who should most rejoice and take pride in having some standing in the new social organization?

The deputy Doulcet, in a speech of unparalleled virulence, refers to the furious groups organizing in Paris, to the Babeuf conspiracy, to one vast slaughter-house, plundering, the Phrygian cap dripping with blood, the anarchical Constitution of 1793, the oath taken by the factious spirits to slaughter the Legislature and the Directorate, the necessity of exterminating this horde of assassins and Terrorists who have escaped the severities of the revolutionary committees, who are seeking to seize upon power

and wield the sword of proscription. The speaker says that his heart is not closed to the sufferings of those who have seen their fortunes engulfed; he appeals to those who have suffered. All this rabid oratory *à propos* of a victory won by the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, which, he is pleased to confess, has well deserved of the Fatherland—this speech is a veritable fire-ship. M. Doulcet is one of those men dominated by hatred, consumed with gall, who are, moreover, very little grateful to a republic which opens to them a destiny to which they could hardly pretend. It will be seen how under the Imperial Government M. Doulcet will make the most of an intimacy entered into with Bonaparte on the 13th Vendémiaire; how, after having made use of that government, he will be on good terms with the Restoration; he will then return to the emperor during the Hundred Days, to again offer his services to the Restoration as soon as he shall have secured its forgiveness, and couple with his hereditary peerage and his emoluments as ex-senator other no less lucrative positions making of him what is vulgarly called a determined and shameless pluralist.

20th and 21st Prairial, Year IV.—The Legislature admits the information laid against Drouet.

Internal dissensions are far from being at an end. Deputies of the Council of Five Hundred, laboring under the impression that the *bureau central*[1] of the

[1] There is no exact equivalent for *bureau central* in English; it was established in *communes* divided into several municipalities, for the purpose of dealing with matters which the Legislature considered should be dealt with by one central power. It was composed of three members appointed by the administration of the department and confirmed by the Executive; its duties were in many respects akin to those of the police.—Translator's note.

municipality has issued warrants against their persons, denounce, amidst the greatest uproar, the functionaries employed by the Directorate, which has, they allege, outraged national representation. The Directorate does not wait for an official notification of the fact from the Council, but immediately orders Cochon, the Minister of Police, to report to it what has occurred in the matter. The Minister adds to his report that of the members of the *bureau central*, proving beyond doubt that a mistake has been committed in regard to names, resulting from the national almanacs giving as *ex-conventionnels* deputies who were still members of the existing Councils; but stating that the letters, which have been styled warrants for arrest, have in no wise led to any rigorous measures being taken against the deputies affected by the mistake. The Directorate immediately sends both documents to the Councils. The Minister's report is received with shouts of derisive laughter; cries of "There's the reaction!" are heard at the mention in terms of praise of one D'Ossonville, a detective, for the eminent services rendered by him in connection with the Babeuf conspiracy. This D'Ossonville may indeed have acted in this matter according to the methods of his profession, and somewhat like the informer Grizel; but such deeds are not worthy of publicity, and governments reduced to having recourse to them can never pride themselves on it. It was not unintentionally that Cochon brought forward in a spirit of maliciousness the man against whom several of us had personal grounds of complaint, owing to his having attempted to enmesh us by means of his abominable inventions. When once informers have been set in motion, and it is attempt-

ed to honor them in addition to rewarding them, the result is a crop of imitators, not to say rivals. Hence it was extremely interesting to see police detectives seeking to deprive Grizel of the advantages of the service he had rendered the Government. "'Tis I who unearthed the conspiracy," wrote one Goner to me.

As regards the message of the Directorate, having drawn it up with the aid of Rewbell, and in conformity with the sentiments of truth governing us, we had considered it sufficient. I still consider it so.

MESSAGE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORATE REPORTING ON THE WARRANTS ISSUED AGAINST CERTAIN DEPUTIES ON THE 22D FLORÉAL.

The Executive Directorate to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizen Legislators,

The Executive Directorate having learned yesterday by the public voice that warrants had been issued by the *bureau central* of the municipality of Paris against members of the Council of Five Hundred, immediately gave orders that an account should be rendered to it of the causes leading up to a criminal act or to so deplorable a mistake. It hastens to transmit to you the report sent to it in consequence of these orders by the *bureau central.*

The Executive Directorate, citizen legislators, did not consider that it should wait for the Council of Five Hundred to ask for light to be thrown on facts of such importance, in order to look into them and submit to it the results of the investigation. It is cognizant of all that is due to the legislative body and the members of which it is composed. It is aware that the liberty of nations dwelling in a land of any magnitude can only be maintained under the representative system, which cannot itself exist if the respect of the citizens for the magistrates, and that of the magistrates and the citizens for the national representation, cease to be its support.

Nor is the Directorate ignorant of the fact that when once a

nation has given itself a free government, it must hold its institutions as sacred; otherwise it will find in its nobility naught but a succession of slavery and anarchy, and a hideous medley of crimes and misfortunes, in all times their concomitants. The Directorate will by its conduct demonstrate its sentiments in this connection, and will never endure that the Constitution be violated in any matter within the scope of its functions.

Whether it be through criminal intent or thoughtlessness and error that the deed was committed for which the representatives of the people affected by it have just cause of complaint, the Directorate will consider it one of its first duties to spare no efforts to punish the guilty, and recall those who may have acted hastily or thoughtlessly in the scrupulous attention to be exercised in dealing with everything affecting the national representation.

BUREAU CENTRAL DU CANTON DE PARIS,
Paris, the 21st Prairial, Year IV. of the
one and indivisible French Republic.

I have claimed the message just read as the joint effort of Rewbell and myself, and I have produced it as documentary evidence in order that fair-minded men should in this circumstance be able to appreciate the conduct of both parties. The existing state of men's minds is already allowing the germ of fatal dissensions sown among the respective branches of authority to sprout, and it will be in vain that a sincerely conciliatory spirit will seek to restrain the consequences following therefrom.... Will it be credited that a message like the one just perused, one giving such satisfactory assurances to the legislative body, far from appeasing it, should have become the pretext for fresh vociferations and persistent suppositions of our intentions? As it is the wont of perverse men to seize upon every circumstance likely to serve their passion, advantage was taken of the discovery of the Babeuf conspiracy to connect with

it all whom it was sought to accuse, and it was even attempted to hold the Directorate responsible for it. It was bruited in the Councils that Paris was in a state of insurrection; that the anarchists were enrolling themselves and organizing a general massacre; that they were on the point of overthrowing the institutions of the Year III., with the view of substituting for them the Constitution of 1793. All this talk frightened some, while it drove others to propose odious measures. As a matter of fact, Paris was in no wise in a state of insurrection; the Republicans had not the slightest idea of killing anybody, anxious as they were to live under the Constitution governing us. Some of them were doubtless desirous that the chief powers of the State should not repulse them with cruel ingratitude, and that the Government should be conducted constitutionally and even popularly. As to certain groups, whose number was greatly exaggerated, we obtained proof that they were harangued by Chouans, and that the people were merely lookers-on. But the triumphs won by our armies, the peace concluded with several Powers, the resignation of others humbly soliciting the alliance of the Republic, is what excited an envy which stirred up difficulties and was the cause of oscillations preventing the Republic gaining stability and entering into relations with all the governments of Europe.

Did M. Thibaudeau possess the key to these subversive machinations, or was it the ill-conceived speculation of a man tormented by the desire of causing to be forgotten to what a degree he had been a Montagnard previous to the 9th Thermidor, and impatient to take rank among the authors of the fresh

reactions? Or was it the natural expansion of a jealous and gratuitously malicious character inducing him to take up in an underhand way the wrongs which, there was reason to believe, his colleagues had either disregarded or abandoned? Be this as it may, he was endlessly repeating and reverting to the highly colored diatribes of M. Doulcet against the anarchists. Now M. Thibaudeau and his followers meant Republicans when they said anarchists, and the former were the object of their personal hatred because they were aware that they could not win their regard. Such were, according to these fine gentlemen, the accomplices of the Directorate. It was part of their system to pretend that we favored the Babouvistes while not daring to give them open support. . . . Rewbell, incensed at seeing the action of the Government destroyed by all this unjustified and scandalous talk, exclaimed that the Councils harbored the counter-revolution. He is also reported to have said, with even more brutal frankness, "They ought all to be thrust into a sack and pitched into the river."

Meanwhile the wind of reaction is beginning to blow; the struggle for official positions begins, and men are dismissed in heedless fashion. One of our most estimable commissaries, Paré, commissary for the department of the Seine, a good and wise administrator, a patriot selected as a victim previous to the 9th Thermidor, is dismissed on Carnot's motion. "Is it because he was the friend of Danton, and proscribed as Minister of the Interior by the associates of Robespierre?" I inquired of him. "Maybe," replied Carnot, somewhat put out; "whatever the reason, citizen Paré does not enjoy my con-

fidence." At the same sitting the Minister Cochon spoke still more malevolently against the deputy Drouet and all the former members of the National Convention. Will it be believed that one of the Directors, who was not lacking in either probity or humanity, dared to say, "Were the conspirators of the 22d Floréal by any chance to be acquitted by the jury, they should be killed"? And as such an utterance filled the others with astonishment, even Cochon, the Director, so far from recanting, added with increased fury, "Yes, I maintain they should be killed, because they sought to kill us, and because it is better to kill the devil than let him kill you."

Carnot, whose anger would not be quieted, drew from his pocket a list of former deputies whom he declared to be dangerous men, and told Cochon that he must be very strict in the matter of making any exceptions—nay, that none should be made; and, as if it was not already sufficient to strike citizens at home, it is considered necessary to extend severe measures to foreigners not only most harmless, but most commendable for their virtues and patriotism. Cochon makes a report against certain ambassadors suspected of being in sympathy with liberal ideas, M. Blaw in particular, whom he charges with being on an intimate footing with the Jacobins. I attempt to make a few remarks, but in vain, and the Directorate, abandoning itself to the unjust suspicions of Cochon, decides to demand the recall of the worthy Blaw. Little satisfied, moreover, with our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Carnot proposes to replace Lacroix by the very Doulcet who has so well inveighed against anarchists. Therein lay the secret of that deputy's terrible harangue.

CHAPTER X

Some few consolations left—Hoche's transcendent glory—Surrender of the Chouans—Frotté—Hoche's laurels prevent Bonaparte from sleeping—Bonaparte and Cæsar—Surrender of the principal Vendean chiefs—Bourmont at the feet of Hoche—He is transported to Switzerland—His intrigues—Bonaparte's bold march—His letter from Verona—"The French Empire"—His treatment of the *émigrés*—Moreau crosses the Rhine—Attack concerted by Moreau, the Directorate, and Bonaparte—The two brothers Solano—Scholars turned teachers—Embarrassment of the King of Naples—San Gennaro—Overtures for peace—Great views of the Directorate—The ambassador Descorches—Plans in regard to Persia—Admiral Parker—Our naval successes—Mutual recriminations—Saliceti and Pinçot—Moreau's triumphs—Bonaparte's vast projects—He is censured by Carnot—Jourdan meets with a check—Carnot's saying—Bernadotte's masterly retreat—He is compared to Xenophon—Cause of the successes of Prince Charles—Monstrous calumny uttered against Moreau—Deputation from the city of Milan to the Directorate—Is it to be received?—A compromise—Ireland asks France's help against England—The plenipotentiaries O'Connor and Fitzgerald—The Directorate receives them.

LET us pass over melancholy debates the consequences of which can be foreseen but not forestalled; let us adjourn the sittings of the Directorate; let us forget public men, and turn our thoughts towards the honest men who, unhappy in their homes, seek to escape the worries of private life, and fly to the country for the purpose of inhaling pure air and resting their ulcerated imagination in the sweet contemplation of nature. Let us leave the melancholy halls where our ears are assailed with clamors and

insults; let us take our map of France and that of Europe beyond our frontiers; let us look at the admirable progress of our armies, the sacrifices, virtues, and triumphs of the defenders of our Fatherland. These are consolations which elevate the soul and separate it for a moment at least from all the sorrows and humiliations inflicted on nations by civil discord.

General Hoche undoubtedly still holds "the centre of the stage" as regards glory. Although the successes of his army on the Ocean shore are not the most brilliant, they are the most positive, the most enduring, and the most deserving of the gratitude of the Fatherland; for he is putting the finishing stroke, by measures both energetic and wise, to the pacification of a country whose possession sword and torch have contended for, and where, according to figures too true, over 600,000 men of both parties, but alas! all Frenchmen, have been swallowed up in less than three years!

The leaders of the Chouans of the Morbihan have surrendered. Frotté is treating in his turn. Hoche will soon justly be entitled the "Pacificator of La Vendée." Admirable young man, true hero of liberty, add this new laurel to the crown of glory already placed on your brow by your exploits on the Rhine! As young as Bonaparte, you had for some years past outstripped him in the soldier's career. It is perhaps your daring which pointed out and opened up both your and his path. May he, like you, display it only in defence of the noble cause, and not lose sight of your disinterestedness! Vain wishes! . . .

It is not without some show of reason that one

may believe that among the causes likely to influence the military ambition of Bonaparte, the anterior glory of Hoche may have cut a figure. He had met him in Paris for a short time between the 13th Vendémiaire and his departure for the army; and were it permitted for an instant to be less serious in the midst of the terrible events besetting us, I would recall that Hoche had been his predecessor in a connection less glorious than the career of Mars. Whether owing to the preference which had preceded him in the heart of Mme. Beauharnais, or to the anxiety of Themistocles aroused by the laurels of Miltiades, it is a fact that of all generals Hoche was the one who most absorbed Bonaparte's thoughts. Previous to his departure for Italy, he inquired what had become of him in La Vendée. On arriving in Italy he asked all new-comers, "Where is Hoche? What is Hoche doing?" Many of those who heard these questions were under the impression that more than once had they been accompanied by sighs and glances heavenwards. It is Cæsar shedding tears at not being sufficiently illustrious at an age when Alexander had already filled the world with his exploits! . . .

A few days after this final and glorious pacification, Hoche wrote to us that the principal chiefs, such as Scépeaux and Bourmont, the latter especially, were surrendering, so it seemed to him, in all sincerity. The greater part of the Vendeans and Chouans were, moreover, *émigrés*. It was the duty of the Commander of the Army of the Republic to apply to them the laws dealing with the emigration. These laws were summed up in the word "death." We took upon ourselves, in the interest of a general

pacification, and to better secure it, to authorize the General-in-Chief to content himself with transporting those who have returned to the Republican fold, and especially to send back to England those vomited on our shores by that country. Count de Bourmont belonged to this English category. Hoche informs us that the count had thrown himself at his feet, entreating him not to compel him to return to England, that he preferred death on French soil to going back to a country which had given the *émigrés* so many grounds for complaint. There was so much to blame the English Government for in the Quiberon affair, and in all those wherein French blood had been shed on both sides! Bourmont asked as a great favor to be transported to Switzerland. General Hoche referred this request to us; we granted it, and Bourmont was sent to Switzerland. . . .

What is our surprise to learn shortly afterwards, through our agents in London, that Bourmont has returned thither, and is again intriguing with the English Government! A few days more and La Vendée seems to be on the point of rising from its ashes. What is our further astonishment to learn that Bourmont, once more in England's pay, is back in France, whither she has conveyed him! Now the Bourmont here mentioned is the same who is in the future to create far greater surprises than the present one. . . .

Bonaparte pursues his intrepid course; his eagerness to be up and doing becomes redoubled on learning of the opening of the campaign on the Rhine. He penetrates into the Tyrol, imposes contributions on the Imperial fiefs in punishment of their resistance, which he styles revolt; he directs

a column of his army towards Lake Como. He causes to be disarmed all the insurgent districts he has left behind him, and, in order to make a striking example, he has several of the leaders who have fallen into his hands shot.

Whether it is that he seeks to increase his popularity and to continue affording pledges of his Republican principles, or whether he already considers as a personal quarrel the designs of the Bourbons, he writes to us from Verona, on the 15th Prairial, that he did not conceal from the inhabitants of that large and beautiful city that had the Pretender remained within its walls he would have destroyed it by fire for having had the audacity to consider itself the capital of the French Empire by allowing and consecrating the residence of the man who dared to call himself the King of France. The word "empire" was scarcely noticed at the time. Was it in later days, even when assuming the title of Emperor, Bonaparte suffered for a while the name of the French Republic to "remain in existence" even on the coinage, when he and his followers added to their mystifications by saying, "People do not understand what the Empire means; 'tis still nothing more than the Republic . . ."? Moreover, in the letter wherein he informed us of his energetic resolve in regard to a town guilty of an offence to the French Republic, Bonaparte wrote: "The *émigrés* have fled to Germany, whither they bear their remorse and misery." If motives of policy have since then made him deal more leniently with the *émigrés*, there is no harm in establishing the fact that generosity was not his first guiding impulse in the matter.

Mantua is invested; outpost fights have taken place in which victory has crowned our arms.

To return to the Armies of the Rhine. General Moreau, who has been somewhat late in commencing operations, has just crossed that river, as ordered to do so long since by the Directorate. He has taken the fort of Kehl. Two of his divisions, which did not succeed in forming a junction at the place appointed, joined the troops besieging that fort. It would seem that his orders were not executed with the precision necessary for such attacks in the presence of the enemy. This movement had been concerted by the Directorate, Bonaparte, and Moreau. Its result must in a short while establish communications between our two armies.

The Spanish general Solano and his brother, desirous of increasing their knowledge of the art of war, obtain permission from the Directorate to join General Moreau's staff. Our warriors, but recently the youngest scholars in the art of war, are already looked upon as its exponents. May the excellent lessons supplied by them of their methods on the field of battle not render our enemies more learned than ourselves! May the day never dawn when we shall see them adopt to our greatest detriment the revolutionary tactics we have created, one which tyranny will retain on succeeding to liberty!

Informed tardily, so it would seem, but quickly alarmed at the progress made by the French in Italy, the King of Naples has ordered a levy of 70,000 men. The prayers addressed to San Gennaro have not obtained this levy nor stopped the ardor of the French. The Neapolitan King thereupon resolves to send commissioners to treat for peace.

But military triumphs, although doubtless strengthening to a new government, do not suffice if not supported by combinations of peace. While vigorously prosecuting war, the Directorate ponders over designs to extend and assure the power of France in the most distant quarters, which maritime powers have alone seemed able to have the means to attain.

The Directorate consults Descorches, former ambassador at Constantinople, as to Persia and the proper means to employ in order to establish friendly relations with that power. Unofficial overtures are to be tried, in order to ascertain if the Persian Emperor would be disposed to receive a French envoy.

Admiral Parker has been badly worsted in his attack on

Léogane; he has been compelled to withdraw. The French division in the West Indies has captured a portion of the English fleet proceeding to Balda.

There is nothing demanding so much coolness and reflection of men invested with authority as the investigation of the complaints and denunciations pouring in on them from all directions. If such attention is more especially called for in critical times, it is also necessary when individual passions have to be dealt with. I have oftentimes found that he who denounced another ought himself to have been denounced on the very grounds alleged by him.

On the 2d Messidor, Saliceti writes to us that one Pinçot, an agent in the Department of Finances, has dared to assume the position of commissary of the Government with the army, and has been hurling invectives at the Republic. The Minister of Finance simultaneously informs us that Pinçot has revealed the squandering of our financial resources in Italy and the waste of military funds; that he entertains some misgivings in regard to the very suspicious circumstances connected with the armistice concluded with Naples; in short, that Saliceti was the one against whom his charges were chiefly directed.

General Moreau has won a few successes on the Rhine.

Bonaparte writes from Tortona that he is about to besiege Mantua, and that if reinforcements are only sent to his army, he will soon be on the banks of the Danube. Carnot thinks this announcement most presumptuous. He inveighs against the unmeasured conduct of Bonaparte, who has had a great number of people shot in the Austrian fiefs.

Jourdan has met with a reverse on the Lahn, and has been compelled to retreat to the Sieg. Carnot says that if the Chouans will be pleased to hear of this disaster, the anarchists will be still more gratified at the news.

The rest of the campaign would have been still more disastrous had it not been for the intrepid resistance opposed by Bernadotte, the general of the vanguard, who had become one of the rearguard, to the Austrians. During this retreat, as skilful as it was daring, Bernadotte drew upon himself for the resources it was necessary to improvise,

in order to meet events unforeseen by the General-in-Chief. On this most critical occasion Bernadotte displayed views and means which some day, applied on a larger scale, will reveal to Europe one of its greatest generals. May France preserve to its glory the generous soldiers who are now springing up from the bosom of the soil of liberty! . . . Foreign and French military men said at the time that there was something of Xenophon in Bernadotte.

It has been since attempted to attribute to a great extent the check met with by the French army at Neumarck to movements ventured upon by the Archduke Charles, only because of the understanding alleged to have existed between General Moreau, Louis XVIII., and the Prince de Condé, and the assurances formerly given by General Moreau to the Austrian generals that he would second as much as possible the operations of their army. Moreau's character presents features sufficiently weak and unworthy of esteem for there to be no need of adding thereto the most monstrous calumny. The too great reliance placed by the General-in-Chief of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse on an advance which even the high standard of that army did not justify being attempted, except with extreme precaution, was the primary cause of the advantage gained by Prince Charles. This is a case where, without crediting everything to a chance which prudence was unable to conjure, it may be said that the fortune of war is not an empty word. The more General Jourdan will perfect himself in the art of war, the more will his efforts be followed by the glorious good-fortune accompanying his early exploits; the victorious general of Hond-

schoote, Fleurus, and Neustricht seems to authorize the question asked by Cardinal Prime Minister Mazarin ere appointing a general-in-chief—"Is he fortunate?"

3d Messidor, Year IV.—Meanwhile our affairs in Italy daily progress in our favor. The city of Milan has sent deputies to Paris. They have arrived, and wait the Directorate's pleasure. Are they to be received? Carnot believes that it would be tantamount to making too great advances to peoples opposite governments, and that we should not bind ourselves to anything by any open demonstration. Rewbell and I ask that the Minister of Foreign Affairs be at least asked to inform the Milanese of the interest the Directorate takes in their happiness and the liberty of their country.

Ireland, oppressed by England, turns to France. Lords Fitzgerald and O'Connor have written, asking to be received in secret by the Directorate. They inform and assure us of the need their compatriots feel of shaking off the yoke of England. Do these two plenipotentiaries possess powers from their country, or is their mission one merely self-assumed? At all events such an overture is not to be despised. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is instructed to reply to them to proceed to Switzerland, where they will receive passports.

CHAPTER XI

The endless Babeuf affair discussed in the Directorate—Geneva asks France's protection—Depreciation of the *mandats* (orders directly exchangeable for the national lands)—Alarming report of the Minister of Police—Draft of a treaty with the Porte rejected by the Directorate—Its views in the matter—Negotiations with Prussia broken off—Caillard—Conference with Sandos-Rollin—Carnot's imprudent utterance—He is censured by Rewbell—Attempts made to alarm the Directorate—The woman Blondeau—The Orléans faction—Grizel's fresh denunciation of Drouet—How it is treated by the Directorate—Daring proposition of M. Noël, ambassador to Holland—Blaw becomes suspect to Letourneur—Petition from Neapolitan refugees—The *bureau central* denounced—Decision of the Councils—The Pretender ordered to go to Rothemburg—He refuses to obey—The army of the *émigrés*—Operations before Mantua—Funds granted by the Councils for the prosecution of conspirators—Moreau's successes—Battle of Beuchen—Drouet accused—Doulcet in high favor—Letourneur charges the Minister of Finance with terrorism—An attempt to corrupt Carnot—His probity—The Deputy Legot denounced—Louvet called a scoundrel before the Directorate—I defend him—Lively debate in the Directorate anent the *mandats*—Ramel tenders his resignation—Armistice concluded with the Pope—M. Dazara—Unwise confidence which saves His Holiness ten millions—Commissary Garreau on the *émigrés* who have sought refuge in Genoa—His fears in regard to Bonaparte's power—Prince Henry of Prussia's scheme for a general pacification—His regard for the French nation—Carnot's opinion of our relations with Sardinia—Proposition in regard to the national domains—Dubois-Crancé—Armistice entered into with the King of Naples—Prince Pignatelli—Occupation of Ancona—Blockade of Mantua—Victories of Jourdan and Moreau—Cleverness shown by Kléber—Favorable dispositions of the Republic of Lucca—Occupation of Leghorn—Bonaparte's conduct towards the governor—Condescension of the Grand Duke—Battle of Rastatt—Mo-

reau's fresh victories—Alarm felt in regard to the state of Paris —Projected alliance with Spain—Debate on an article relative to the *émigrés*—Views of the Directorate in regard to the Pope —Beffroy, *alias* "Cousin Jacques"—The *Constitutions de la lune* —Debate on Drouet in the Ancients—Letourneur's violent utterance—Where is Drouet to be tried?—Tallien and Fréron denounced—Lamarque defends Drouet—Measures taken by the Minister Cochon—Lacretelle and Dufourny—Demands of the Bey of Tunis—Is Drouet to be defended?—The accused of Vendôme according to Louvet—Letourneur's utterance in regard to Cambacérès—Halem the American—His proposition to us—I seek to have it rejected—It is adopted—Denial of Drouet's request—Joint celebration of the fêtes of Liberty.

5th Messidor, Year IV.—The Babeuf affair still engages the attention of the Directorate. Letourneur states that, examining the list of deputies who have voted in favor of Drouet, he can now find forty-four only; that since the accusation against Drouet has been admitted, it is proven that the Directorate is not compromised collectively or individually. I think that there is no longer any occasion for us not to venture, from fear of being charged with connivance, to defend the integrity of the national representation. I am of the opinion that, after all the misfortunes experienced in this connection in the early revolutionary period, it behooves us to beware falling into cruel imitations. I consider it meet to rise superior to passions. In short, I look upon it as our duty, as our primary right, to make manifest our opinion that the legislative body shall no longer be encroached upon. Letourneur answers, "I would have voted against Drouet." Rewbell and I add, "And even in favor of Cadroy, were he accused." I again raise my voice against the system of forever prejudging the guiltiness of the accused, in the case of a deputy now sitting, and in that of former deputies, to-day deprived of all the guarantees of inviolability.

Letourneur demands that if Vadier is restored to liberty by the jury in the Babeuf affair, he be kept a prisoner under some pretence or other. This crafty opinion and conception, worthy of Merlin, is at once branded, not only as an abuse of power, but as a violation of the first law of morality and humanity, *Non bis in idem*. . . . For the openly avowed pretext of another cause was simply the identical feeling of vindictiveness displayed in the former one.

The Genevese, whose form of government increases the interest in an alliance with them, and commends them to us as brothers and friends as well as allies, solicit the protection of France. Two members of the Directorate raise their voices against the request of the Genevese. They believe it would be dangerous to grant it, as indicative of a predilection in favor of that Republic, however small and unique it might be. Rewbell and I assert that we must support the Genevese for the very reason adduced to make us forsake them. In reality the cause of our dissent is that some of us who persist in reasoning according to the tenets of the former monarchical diplomacy would like to follow in its beaten tracks; whereas the French Republic, while not seeking, in conformity with its nature, to openly subject Europe to its propaganda, even diplomatically, must never lose sight of the fact that it remains an anomaly in Europe until kings shall have become an anachronism.

The Minister of Police reports a few gatherings brought about by the depreciation of the *mandats*. He argues that means must be found of coming to the rescue of fund-holders and the poorer class of people. His request is too vague to be even understood; it is not an easy matter to pass from one kind of paper money to another. What will it be when the time comes to operate the transition of paper money to a coin system?

7th Messidor, Year IV.—The people, continues the Minister, are in a state of exasperation; they are bowed down with destitution; the word "liberty" is greeted with murmurings, even in the theatres.

9th Messidor.—The Minister of Foreign Affairs proposes a treaty of alliance with the Porte; such a treaty would truly be a humiliation, and cast ridicule on the French Republic; it is unanimously rejected. The Directorate thinks it would be more to France's interests to treat with Russia.

10th Messidor.—Caillard, our resident in Berlin, announces that in consequence of a conversation of Carnot with M. Sandos-Rollin, to the effect that the Directorate was opposed to the line of neutrality, the King of Prussia has broken off the negotiations he had begun. Carnot admits the fact, saying that he did not himself desire any line of neutrality. "This may be your personal opinion," remarks Rewbell, "but there is no reason for giving it as the pleasure of the Directorate. Our authority is collective, and can only act as such."

11th Messidor.—There are ever excellent reasons in store for alarming new governments in regard to the stability of their existence. New governments are more exposed to suspicions and fears—a twofold resource in the hands of plotters. It is sought to frighten the Directorate with fresh terrors; a report announces that a disturbance has taken place at the Halles (corn-market), and that there has been a beginning of pillage. The woman Blondeau has informed Carnot that the Orléans faction shows its head in all directions. Every time it is sought to assign motives of particular interest to the party of the Revolution, it is always the Orléans faction that is brought forward. The counter-revolutionary part forever accuses the offspring of the Orléans family, as they formerly accused its chief, who, as unfortunately for himself as for us, did not become France's chief. May God have a better fate in store for the children than for their unfortunate father!

Carnot lays before us a fresh statement made by Grizel, whose patron he continues to be; its object is Drouet. Together with the Minister of Police, we agree that it would be indecent to transmit this statement to the Councils; it would savor of personal animus. Rewbell asks Carnot for the document, which is handed to him.

While hunting down the anarchists in France, the police would like to stretch its long arms into other parts of Europe. Larevellière submits a letter from M. Noël, our ambassador in Holland. M. Noël does not hesitate to call for the arrest of the anarchists who are seeking to revolutionize that country. The ambassador Blaw would like to remain in Paris for the benefit of his health. The worthy Dutchman is naught but an anarchist, according to Letourneur; there would be danger in allowing him to stay in Paris.

Several Neapolitan refugees vainly beg permission to remain in Paris; it seems that the French Republic should be the natural asylum of patriots persecuted by absolute governments; in the eyes of Letourneur they are so many anarchists delegated to come to an understanding with those of France; he would treat them with a like vigor, and constantly displays his fury against them, one and all. The vigorous and reasoning oppositions of Rewbell and myself seem to quiet him somewhat in regard to the dangers he stands in awe of. The petition is returned to the Minister of Police.

The Council of Five Hundred enacts that the members of the *bureau central* denounced by the *tribunal de cassation* (appellate court) be summoned to the bar. The Council of Ancients decides, after having heard them, that there is no reason for indicting them in view of the fact that, the victories of the Republic having more and more consolidated what was styled the problem of its existence, the cause of the Bourbons is daily becoming more forsaken by the kings, their colleagues, and relations. The Pretender has been repeatedly ordered to go to Rothenburg; he has refused to obey, and invoked the protection of England. Austria has taken offence at this. The nobility represented by the *émigrés* is discontented; the plebeians still more so, because, in addition to their unhappy position, they are subjected to the impertinent treatment of those who continue considering themselves the superiors of everybody because they style themselves noblemen. Moreover, these gentlemen have just demonstrated, by sorry military achievements, that they are as inferior in war as they are in politics. The alleged army of the *émigrés* is hardly any longer an entity. A few thousand men on paper merely serve to constitute the pretext by which the Prince de Condé receives for himself and his troops considerable funds from England; but what is still called the army of the *émigrés* lacks bread and consideration.

12th Messidor.—The enemy, shut up in Mantua, has made a sortie, but has quickly sought the shelter of the walls. Our troops have dislodged the enemy from their formidable intrenchments erected in the mountains between Lake Garda and the Adige. This position covered the Tyrol.

"The priest must live by the altar, and that is why there is an altar," has said a modern philosopher; the same principle may safely be extended to the creation of the police. In perfected social bodies it is inevitable that men should thrive on infamy; hence there are police systems, whose démands are not easily satisfied. The Minister of Police reports that he needs further funds to follow up the conspiracy. They are at once and without debate granted by the Council of Five Hundred at its sitting of the 25th Messidor. Hatred and fear are not parsimonious passions—which, however, does not imply that they are generous.

14th Messidor, Year IV.—On the 10th and 11th Messidor, Moreau wins a substantial victory over the enemy; he has killed a

A commissary of the Directorate who is still attached to the Army of Italy, Garreau, writes from Genoa that the anti-French *émigrés* seem greatly pleased with the measures adopted against the terrorists. This agent does not conceal his fear in regard to the excessive confidence the Government seems to repose in Bonaparte. Honest Garreau is not aware that it is no longer necessary to grant anything to Bonaparte, who knows full well how to bestow on himself all kind of attentions and advances he is unable to obtain from any other source.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs communicates to us a memorandum, in the handwriting of Prince Henry of Prussia, in regard to a plan of general pacification. The prince reveals favorable dispositions towards the French Republic, for which he professes a special regard; he proposes a congress between France and Prussia, England and Russia to be excluded from it. The prince is desirous that the Army of Italy should take possession of the Danube and promptly bring Austria to terms.

Carnot proposes sending an ambassador to Turin. He adheres to the opinion he has already expressed of augmenting the dominions of the Sardinian king; the majority of the Directorate opposes this scheme. Such can no longer be the point at issue; it would be taking a narrow view to look upon the question merely in the light of the more or less strength to be granted to one sovereign against another, in order to establish what was in the old style called an equilibrium. The real, the great modern question is to take advantage of the means and ascendency which principles and victory afford to the French Republic of placing the representative system in a position to cope with the absolutist royal system still holding under its sway the greater part of the world we call civilized, to say nothing of abuses we stigmatize as barbarous, with perhaps as little justice as accuracy.

16*th Messidor, Year IV.*—At the request of a few deputies, the Minister of Finance proposes that we should finally regulate a measure having reference to tenders for the national domains. Coupled with this request, as in so many instances, are invectives against the Orléans faction—it is hard to say in what connection, since the Duc d'Orléans, the father, having perished, his sons transported, and all their properties confiscated, their connection with the national domains merely consists in being victims, as their properties have been sold under this de-

nomination; in spite of these measures taken against them, all those who persist in seeing an "Orléans" faction follow up their system, and maintain that Dubois-Crancé is the faction's principal agent. The Directorate passes to the order of the day on this wretched calumny.

The King of Naples is not desirous of seeing our triumphant armies invade his dominions. He concludes an armistice, and sends to Paris Prince Pignatelli; the commander of the Neapolitan cavalry has been ordered to withdraw his force from the Austrian army. The Pope has likewise concluded an armistice; he has handed over to our troops Ancona, an advantageous position on the Adriatic Gulf. The Roman plenipotentiary is on his way to Paris to conclude the final treaty. On the 3d of June the French army invested Mantua, and began the siege.

17th Messidor, Year IV.—The Republic fares equally well at the hands of the Army of the Rhine. Jourdan and Moreau have, in several partial engagements, defeated the enemy; Jourdan has established himself on the right bank of the Rhine; we are reassured in regard to the alarming position of Kléber, who has manœuvred most skilfully and displayed great firmness in presence of an enemy vastly superior in numbers. Jourdan is following up the enemy; his headquarters are soon established at Velmunster.

The Castle of Milan, which had held out after our occupation of the city, surrendered on the 11th Messidor. The success of our arms is extending in all directions; the Republic of Lucca itself is supplying resources to the French army. The English having abused their authority at Leghorn to our detriment, so far as to indulge in hostilities towards French ships, the port and town of Leghorn are occupied by our troops; the English ships succeeded in escaping, but their storehouses remain under seal. Bonaparte has arrested and sent to the Grand Duke of Florence the governor, who did not see that proper respect was paid to the French. Whether from motives of honesty or fear, the Grand Duke immediately deprives the Governor of Leghorn of his position, and promises to deal with him according to his deserts.

18th Messidor.—Moreau has driven the enemy from its positions, and established his headquarters at Rastatt, where he has given battle. Other brilliant engagements have followed, resulting in heavy losses to the Austrians. On the 23d Messidor

Moreau was at Etingen [Ettlingen?], and pursuing his successes.

The Minister of Police presents fresh documentary charges against Drouet. They have been sent to him by the director of the jury; he proposes to lay them before the Councils. Such an interference with the course of justice is viewed by the Directorate as a gross impropriety, and so it rejects the motion. The Minister informs us next day that certain members of the Councils have seen these documents, owing to their having been abstracted. Moreover, Cochon holds constant intercourse with these gentlemen for the purpose of keeping them informed of our deliberations, and of our individual votes, which oftentimes he unfaithfully transmits, and travesties in conformity with the dictates of his passion. But although the efforts of the police are entirely directed against the patriots, it cannot escape noticing the conduct of the party opposed to them. It is compelled to draw attention in its reports to the arrival of many foreigners and Chouans. Carnot would like to counterbalance this by unceasingly harassing those whom he calls anarchists; he states that meetings of them have occurred during the night; the Minister protests that his information is incorrect, that it emanates from the Royalists, that all was quiet during the night; . . . and Carnot seems unhappy at having this tranquil state of affairs proven to him.

Since the peace concluded with Spain, a few days after our installation, we have lived on harmonious terms with that power, but nothing has been cemented; it is now the time to place on a secure basis what has so far been neglected. A debate takes place in regard to the project of an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain. It has been stipulated that no *émigré* should be employed in the combined armies of the two countries, or tolerated within ten leagues of the frontiers of the Republic. Transported priests are included in this measure. Carnot would like to set aside this clause, although it

19th Messidor, Year IV.

is agreed to by the King of Spain. Carnot looks upon it as perpetuating hatred among Frenchmen, thus postponing the time of a general reconciliation. At heart I am of the same opinion as Carnot, for I ardently desire that all Frenchmen should be once more united; but for the reunion to be sincere and stable, the adversaries of our liberty must first abdicate their pretensions. . . . At the same time, Carnot would like to treat with the Pope in a final manner, merely compelling him to disown his briefs, which have done great harm. Rewbell and I, to whom the matter of the briefs gives but little concern, are of the opinion that it is sufficient to keep the Pope in check, so as to obtain money from him: he has himself for so long a time screwed money out of Christendom; it is above all necessary to protect the Roman patriots; then, when it is seriously intended to destroy the home of superstition, it will be necessary to begin by vigorously and actively turning one's attention to regenerating Italy and constituting it a republic. The proposition is postponed for the present, but not shelved.

The friendships of childhood often result in an affectionate interest of which those grown to man's estate, and more especially those reaching high positions imposing great social duties, must beware. Carnot, who, although mathematics seems to be his vocation, is none the less more frequently a creature with an imaginative turn of mind, has his weak points in this respect; and, as weak points constitute passions it is difficult to explain, I will not say that it is impossible to conceive his passionate liking for one Beffroy, known among the masses by the name of "Cousin Jacques," who believes that he

has political ideas because he daily writes *Les Constitutions de la lune.* He is free to be as much as he chooses the publicist of another planet; but like the priests, who are forever speaking of heaven and never troubling themselves about the earth, this fellow, while seeking to make us believe that he is in the moon, in order to draw our attention in that direction, is none the less engaged in subversive intrigues. He is on a footing of intimacy with all the enemies of the Republic, and their mouthpiece for the purpose of bringing charges against us and handing us over to the malicious attacks of the aristocracy. Denounced in several respects to the Directorate, which he harasses with his daily libels, Cousin Jacques finds a defender in his old schoolmate Carnot.

The Council of Ancients has been greatly exercised over the course to be followed in the case of deputy Drouet. Harmand and several others have defended him; it is not merely a citizen, but the national representation which constitutes the issue, as the rights of the latter are being once more encroached upon. Letourneur tells us with his wonted animosity that Drouet is to be "shot." Even Carnot considers that Letourneur has gone too far. We all protest against similar utterances; acts of rigor entailing such serious consequences represent misfortunes, not triumphs. Drouet, whose indictment is decreed, is to be sent before a high court, which it is proposed shall sit at Bourges. I suggest Amiens. "That is just what the Five Hundred would like," I am told. "What has that to do with the matter?" is my rejoinder. The town of Vendôme is selected. The prisoners number fifty-three.

Since there is already one deputy among them, why not add a few more? M. Drouet can hardly be the only one; he must have accomplices; here is an opportunity to give him Tallien as a companion. The Minister of Police insists that Tallien is in harmonious communication with Fréron. I demand an explanation, as Fréron himself is not implicated in this affair; hence do I defend a couple of citizens whom it is so outrageously sought to include in a conspiracy to which their conduct and doctrines render them rather the adversaries than the accomplices. I am supported by Rewbell, who demonstrates all the vileness and guiltiness there is in seeking to implicate in conspiracies those who do not belong to or even dream of them. . . . The deputy Lamarque, recently back from Austrian prisons, where he was, like Drouet, detained, defends the impugned honor of his colleague in a speech which causes a deep sensation. Letourneur considers it a weak effort; Larevellière, that the speaker is not sincere; Carnot, that he could not help defending his colleague. I consider it worthy of esteem owing to the sentiment of generosity inspiring it. Larevellière claims that the Royalists and anarchists in the Councils are always to be found united against the Government.

The Minister Cochon informs us that he has caused a building to be surrounded wherein anarchists were holding a meeting; he has had them arrested and conveyed to police headquarters. He goes on to say that Lacretelle and Dufourny are working on behalf of Orléans. I reply that the real Orléanists are, in my eyes, the men who are forever seeking to divide and split up the Republicans; that

the Orléanists had no more to do with this case than with so many others into which it is perpetually attempted to drag them.

19th Messidor, Year IV.—Encouraged by the habits of condescension of the former French Government towards African piracy, the Bey of Tunis prefers requests for funds, for which there are absolutely no grounds, and which are almost insolent, although presented in terms of good-will. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is instructed to inform the Bey of Tunis that there exists a French Republic, represented by a Government which does not intend to renew the cowardly conduct resorted to by the old monarchy. Our Minister is also to state, in the most formal manner, to the Ambassador of Tunis that his recognition is in itself a great favor. It is time that Africa should no longer insult Europe.

A well-known citizen announces in the newspapers his intention of defending Drouet. Will it be believed that so simple a declaration gives rise to a question as extraordinary as it is cruel, viz., Is Drouet entitled to have defenders? I consider I am displaying generosity in not naming those of my colleagues who raised such an issue.

In an eloquent speech delivered in the Council of Five Hundred, Louvet maintains that the prisoners about to be tried at Vendôme are after all merely discontented patriots overlooked by the Government. Cambacérès seems to hold the same opinion as Louvet. Letourneur says that "the stronger party" is at all times the compass by which Cambacérès steers. "So be it," I reply to Letourneur, "but let us attempt to act so that our conduct will not constitute us the weaker party."

27th Messidor, Year IV.—An Anglo-American, by name Halem, proposes to the French Government to withdraw Canada from English domination. Carnot considers this a sound and advantageous idea. The authors of plans rarely give their services gratuitously; the present one asks, for the preliminaries, an advance of 250,000 francs in coin. The Minister of Finance asks us to empower him to hand over the sum. I consider that this would be risking too considerable an amount, when intrusting it to a stranger who offers no guarantees. The next day Halem receives 200,000 francs in letters of credit on Hol-

land. The Minister hands them to General Clark in the ambassador's reception-room. Events have proved that the Directorate was on this occasion the dupe of a shameless swindle.

Drouet has asked to see his wife; the Minister of Police points out that the law forbids this until after his examination. Vindictive passions feel triumphant when able to invoke the pretext of legality.

Following upon a terrible revolution, the history of which is composed in equal parts of civil victories at home and those won over the foreigner, it behooves one to avoid wounding feelings and rekindling passions by the consecration of triumphs won over fellow-citizens. It is from this lofty standpoint, and animated by a sincere spirit of general conciliation, that the Directorate decides upon the joint celebration of the two *fêtes* of Liberty of the 14th of July and the 10th of August, and those of the 9th and 10th Thermidor.

CHAPTER XII

Rewbell's mysterious note—It is printed by order of the Directorate —The *fête* of the 9th Thermidor—Carnot's display of ill-humor —His utterance in regard to the re-establishment of royalty— Disturbance in the camp of Grenelle—Drouet's attempt to escape—Indiscreet eagerness of the Minister of Police—French discoveries in connection with the conspiracy—General Vachot —Delmas—Sieyès—Gathering of Englishmen—General Hatri— The troops feared—Carnot's views—The States of Bologna do homage—Mutiny of the troops in connection with the *mandats* —Distress of the people—Humiliating proposition made by Letourneur rejected—Carnot's irritation with the troops—His plans —Continual inveighing against the Terrorists and Royalists— Deputy Legot—The secrecy of correspondence violated—The Marseillais denounced—General Willot—MM. Mechin and Julian—My opinion on the disturbances in Provence—Letter from Hoche on the general situation—His suspicions of Cochon—The *Ami des lois* denounced—Bonaparte complains of the newspapers —He is granted satisfaction—Recriminations of the Marseillais —Mouret and Barbantane—Dismissals—Lamarque wishes to defend Drouet—The Council denies this request—Carnot angry with the newspapers—Gallet and the *Censeur*—Rewbell's screed —Treaty of peace with Rome—My remarks on the soldier's bread—Fréron elected deputy from San Domingo—Full regimentals—Forage rations for military deputies—Personalities— Réal asks for an audience—Complaint of deputy Vitet—Carnot still desirous of sending troops away—Obstacles thrown in the way of the Government by the Treasury—Preparation for Drouet's trial—He escapes—Rewbell on the Royalists.

20th Messidor, Year IV.—Here comes a fresh subject to engage the attention of the Directorate and involve it in debates: 'tis the coming elections. The question is first raised by Rewbell; he brings with a

great show of mystery a note which, he claims, proves conclusively that there exists a large majority against the Government. "This is of the highest importance," says Letourneur; "measures must be taken at once to fight the factions." Carnot is for having the note inserted in the newspapers, accompanied by a warning to all true citizens to be on their guard against the manœuvres of the Jacobins. "It is no less necessary," I remark, "to add a word anent the manœuvres of the Royalists and the persecution to which the Republicans are subjected; in short, both deserve the same attention being paid to them." Both motions are adopted.

Carnot views with displeasure the coming celebration of the *fête* of Liberty set down for the 9th Thermidor; he moves its abolition. The Minister of the Interior submits the programme of the *fête:* a halt at the Bastille, another at the Carrousel; a picture representing the emblems of royalty, with an inscription in big letters, *Never to be re-established.* "Perhaps I may be unwell on that day," says Carnot; "still, I consent to go to the Champ de Mars."

The Minister of Police informs us that the camp of Grenelle reveals symptoms of agitation; he is on the alert in all directions. He has visited the prisons and caused to be walled up a hole made by Drouet for the purpose of escaping. Carnot and Letourneur seek to connect this preparation to escape with the agitation reigning at Grenelle.

30th Messidor, Year IV.—Cochon announces as a discovery the uniting of the Babeuf and Drouet factions with the Thermidorians; he says that Robert Lindet is one of the leaders, together with General Vachot. He couples Delmas and Sieyès with them.

The bungling attempt and indiscretion of the Minister in seeking to implicate the last-named representative in the conspiracy has paralyzed the steps about to be taken against Vachot and others. The Minister Cochon is interpellated as to whether he knows anything of a gathering of Englishmen; he answers in the affirmative, adding that he is having them watched, as they are conspiring against the Directorate.

General Hatri, appointed to the command of the Paris garrison, informs us that he learns that the troops are crying out against the *mandats*. Cochon pretends that these troops are receiving the support of Jacobin generals. Carnot proposes to send away from Paris the troops who are becoming threatening. "It would grieve me less," he says, "to be murdered by the Parisians whom we have chastised, than by the soldiers of a government which pays them to defend it; there would be no treason in that." I reply to Carnot that he need not do himself the honor of selecting his assassins, and showing preference for one or the other, when nobody's life is in danger; that his preference is altogether a matter of luxury. I beg he will look upon things from a common-sense point of view, and give them their just value. Can anything be more simple than the fact that soldiers, whose livelihood depends solely on their pay, should find it very little to their taste that this pay should be made in paper-money daily more and more demonetized by public opinion, and not supplying their needs?

The States of Bologna have sent to represent them in Paris men most distinguished by their talents and virtues, and influential by their wealth;

they respectfully assure the Directorate of their devotedness, and express their ardent hopes for the organization of Italian liberty, together with their wish to co-operate towards such consummation. Are they to be less listened to and welcomed than the Milanese and all the oppressed of those beautiful countries who cast their eyes heavenward and stretch out their hands in supplication towards the French Government, invoking it as their liberator?

1st Thermidor, Year IV.—We are informed that a portion of the troops has refused to accept the *mandats;* the Minister of War is instructed to discover the instigators of this refusal. I persist in maintaining that the evil lies in the nature of things, that is, in the depreciation itself of the paper-money; if it is not to be denied that great discontent exists, it must be admitted that this discontent is the effect, not the cause, of what is happening. The same state of affairs is responsible for the suicides committed daily. The Minister of the Interior is instructed to relieve the needy.

3d Thermidor, Year IV.—Letourneur, whose political pessimism is prepared to endure every humiliation, is of the opinion that the Republic should not fear making advances to belligerents; he would have us be the first to sue for peace at the hands of the Emperor Francis, and that an envoy extraordinary be despatched forthwith for the purpose of conveying an expression of this sincere feeling to the Court of Austria. This singular improvisation is supported by Carnot and Larevellière. Rewbell and I think, on the contrary, that a like overture would seem merely dictated by fear, and would prolong the war; that the surest way of bringing about

the end of hostilities is to take Mantua, drive out the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and defeat Prince Charles. It will then be the Emperor who will sue for peace, and we shall make one honorable and worthy of the French Republic. Larevellière agrees with us, and Letourneur's motion is rejected. Rewbell and I propose that war be declared against the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Directorate adjourns; two of its members persist in expressing a particular interest for the King of Sardinia.

4th Thermidor, Year IV.—Carnot proposes that the greater portion of the troops be sent away from Paris; he calls for the arming and organization of the National Guard, as also of movable columns, whose usefulness he extols. This proposition would certainly be admissible were it made in the general interest, for the inner security of the State and the organization of means really guaranteeing it; but in this case its only result can be to alienate the soldiery from us. "It is fearful," repeats Carnot, "to be exposed to be butchered at any moment by the soldiers we pay." This fear besets him and increases his irritation.

Cochon and Letourneur inveigh against the terrorists; still they admit with Rewbell that the Royalists are not imaginary beings, and that they possess a power no less dangerous than that of the anarchists. I once more reply to these perpetual invectives, adding that a reign of terror cannot exist twice in a country in one century if the government be not its accomplice; that in Paris as elsewhere all enemies, whatever their cockade, will not present any danger, providing the Directorate is both strong and just.

5th Thermidor, Year IV.—Legot, the deputy from Calvados, has sent to Cochon several reports announcing the organization of a committee of insurrection, at whose head it is alleged there are several generals and even the commissary of the Directorate.

A letter from an *émigré*, despatched to Cambacérès, a deputy, has been intercepted by the Minister of Police, who reads it to us. The writer reckons greatly on Cambacérès. This violation of the secrecy of correspondence seems to me most censurable. I apostrophize Cochon in that sense, as well as in regard to all the calumniatory reports with which he stuns the Directorate.

11th Thermidor, Year IV.—Under the impression, in its turn, that it has found in the discovery of the demagogic conspiracy a fresh fulcrum, the deputation of the Bouches-du-Rhône asks that measures be adopted against the anarchists, who at Marseilles and Aix have assassinated several citizens; it is the impunity granted to crimes committed in these towns by the enemies of the Republic which is the cause of these reprisals. I ask that General Willot be recalled, and that a commissary extraordinary be sent, for the purpose of enlightening the Government in regard to the equally furious counter-accusations brought against each other by the two parties. The deputation of the Bouches-du-Rhône has given as its authority the testimony of MM. Mechin and Jullian, formerly Fréron's deputies. These two young civilian aides-de-camp of the commissary did neither more nor less than their chief in those days. They were animated by the best of intentions when on mission,

but were not able to extinguish or extirpate the violent passions indigenous to the soil, and of which the residents in that part of the country represent perhaps no more than the living and involuntary expression, since these violent and perpetual passions constitute nature itself reinforced by all the violent deeds of the Revolution.

12th Thermidor, Year IV.—The Minister of the Interior again brings up the Marseilles and Aix matter. After hearing the several documents relating thereto, there is talk of dismissing all the authorities. Rewbell does not wish to favor any of the parties troubling those districts, but holds that they should be punished indiscriminately. He sees royalism at Aix, and anarchism at Marseilles; he claims that it is not for the Directorate to pronounce as to the illegality of the doings of the primary assemblies. I reply to Rewbell that the dismissal of the *bureau central* of Marseilles, and the forwarding of a message with the incriminating documents, are the only measures to be taken. The Directorate adopts my views.

General Hoche, who, while so successfully engaged in the pacification of La Vendée, does not lose sight of the great pacification of France, writes to us that the Royalists who have landed from England and those who have already reached Paris are full of hope. Cochon would seem to be their devoted servitor, and Hoche does not believe he is loyally serving the Republic.

13th Thermidor, Year IV.—Letourneur proposes a message for the purpose of denouncing the *Ami des lois*, Poultier's newspaper. "You must at least include in the message the names of editors of

journals devoted to the Chouan cause and to the foreigner," remarks Rewbell. As Bonaparte himself has complained in several despatches of the diatribes of the daily prints, the Directorate believes it must take action, and causes to be inserted articles reflecting honor on his conduct, thus testifying to the Government's satisfaction with him.

The deputation of the Bouches-du-Rhône continues besieging the Directorate with its recriminations. It goes so far as to assert that the terrorists are getting themselves killed at Aix, in order to have the right of complaining; that General Mouret is not as good a man as Barbantane, whose place he has filled; and that all the authorities should be dismissed. Rewbell maintains that three of the administrators of the department should be retained, and the municipality of Aix reorganized; the three other members persist in recommending a wholesale dismissal, which is decided upon.

15th Thermidor, Year IV. — The deputy Lamarque, of the Five Hundred, wishes to defend Drouet; 'tis a debt he believes he owes not only to his colleagues in the national representation, but to his companion in misfortune; both have returned from Austrian prisons. The Council refuses to allow Lamarque to play this noble *rôle.*

16th Thermidor, Year IV. — Carnot is more and more irritated at the attacks made by Poultier and Louvet in their journals; he regards them as conspirators, and alleges that we are surrounded by plotters. He calls for the dismissal of several State messengers who he says professed, in the days of the National Convention, anarchical principles. "There must also be a purging of our ushers," he adds. I

ask Carnot if it will not soon be our turn to be driven out. "It seems to me that we also, not excepting yourself, have been somewhat revolutionary in our day," I remark to him. Simultaneously with his angry outburst against the newspapers of Poultier and Louvet, Carnot praises and agrees with the sentiments expressed in *Le Censeur*, edited by Gallet. He is not content with expressing his regard for that journalist: he would like to see financial encouragement awarded him. I reply to Carnot that journalists must pretend to no other encouragement than that of public opinion; if they are deserving of it, it will reward them with an increase of subscribers; thus both their honor and their purse will be satisfied. The liberty of the press is the only protection governments are called upon to extend to writers.

17th Thermidor, Year IV.

Rewbell, alarmed at the progress made by royalism, reproves the Minister of Police, and lays before us an interesting report drawn up by himself on the parties who seek to overthrow the Republic. This screed gives great displeasure to Carnot; he proposes its printing and publication. It is with difficulty that I obtain that it shall be inserted in the newspapers.

19th Thermidor, Year IV.—The treaty of peace with Rome comes up for discussion. The dominant idea as to peace and war in regard to Italy should be to organize liberty on a broad and solid basis in that country, in order that the representative system, of which we are truly the founders, may cope with the hereditary system still uppermost in Europe, and overwhelming nearly every other part

of the world. Let us in the first place lay down definite principles; all our discussions will be compelled to fall in with them, and our opinion will be one and the same in the matter; we shall be strong because united and compact.

The first duty of governments in regard to the armies so absolutely at their disposal is at least to provide for their provisioning. We are presented with a report on the manufacture of soldiers' bread. I point out that the quantity of bran predominant in this bread detracts from its hygienic and nourishing qualities. I ask that bran be eliminated from the soldiers' bread, or at least that it be used in a greatly reduced quantity. The Ministers of War and of the Interior indorse me. Carnot combats my opinion, and wins over my colleagues to his views. Is then the health of the defenders of the Fatherland to be sacrificed to the economy of a few thousand hundredweight of flour?

Fréron has just been elected deputy from San Domingo to the Legislature; the energetic, not to say violent, *rôle* played by Fréron in post-Thermidorian days, when he attacked with vigor that portion of the surviving members of the Committee of Public Safety, whom he styled "the tail of Robespierre"—a tail difficult to flay—has doubtless not been forgotten. In those days it had been Carnot's well-defined policy not to separate himself from his colleagues, from whom he had been separated in the indictment, so Fréron had been the almost personal adversary of Carnot; the latter had treasured up a spite which was not smothered in the person of the Director; hence Carnot is not slow to protest against Fréron being elected a deputy, and

declares that his election will be cancelled. The debate arising out of this circumstance drifts to the coming elections and the means to be employed to secure the election of true citizens. I am of the opinion that to attain such a result it is essential to quench all hatreds and feelings of vindictiveness, and to enlighten and give support to the spirit of Republicanism. I am told that it is essential to pursue a course in harmony with the greater number, and to be especially on guard against terrorists. The commissaries in the departments are instructed to guide the electors. The admitting as a principle the interference of governments in elections is a most deplorable precedent.

Our colleague Larevellière is undoubtedly not one of the members of the Directorate remarkable for simplicity of habit or of character; but ever since he has been in power he believes, in virtue of I know not what system, that it is necessary to speak to popular imagination by means of exterior signs. According to his idea, the Directorate should only show itself abroad in full dress; he makes a special motion pursuant to this idea, and particularly in connection with the commemorative national *fête* of the 10th of August. I do not hold with Larevellière that Republican power derives consideration from the pomp and richness of its costume; I believe on the contrary that the time has come when the simplicity of functionaries must be their distinguishing mark. On the Directorate adopting Larevellière's ceremonious proposition, I ask that, with a view of not multiplying preparations, and in order to give the representatives of kings an insight into the moral force of the *fêtes* we

are celebrating, we should devote the same day to the reception of the ambassadors and diplomatic corps.

23d Thermidor, Year IV.—As a consequence of the penury from which France has suffered during the depreciation of paper-money, functionaries without means and a number of citizens have received relief from the stores of the Republic. The result has been a sort of consecrated custom which cannot be allowed to exist when once things are on a regular footing. The Minister of War, wishing to ingratiate himself with several influential deputies, proposes to give forage rations to those deputies who are military men. "Does this apply to Dubois-Crancé?" asks Letourneur. "To Poultier?" says Carnot. "To Lacombe Saint-Michel?" inquires Larevellière. The Directorate unanimously rejects the proposition; there was no occasion to drag in individuals. A sentiment of Republican decency watched over the public coffers in those days, and guarded them against any inroads. All the abuses which have followed in the military administration were imported among us from the Army of Italy by the man who will later import so many more, when the time will come for him to be no longer satisfied with corrupting the army, and he will feel the need of corrupting almost an entire nation.

The patriots whom the Directorate has been unable to employ besiege it with requests; in order to attract our attention to those among them whose activity is most teeming, they submit to us all kinds of plans of which the "public" interest, as each one of them says, is ever the inspiration and goal. Réal

writes repeatedly to the Directorate, asking an audience in regard to important matters relating to Belgium; he is referred to the Minister of Finance.

24th Thermidor, Year IV.

The Chouans, defeated but not stamped out on the 13th Vendémiaire, are taking heart again at the quarrels and disturbances of which they think they see the germ among those high in power. The deputy Vitet, a famous doctor and venerable old man, informs us that he has been insulted and hounded in the streets by the *Compagnons de Jehu*. The Minister of Police is instructed to investigate this outrage.

27th Thermidor, Year IV.—The slightest movement of the troops within the radius of Paris causes uneasiness to Carnot; he renews his motion to remove them from Paris, and to employ the National Guard in the public service; his motion is again shelved.

28th Thermidor, Year IV.—The Treasury is continually impeding the measures of the Directorate. This is the result of hints from members of the Legislature, who have said openly, "The Government must be deprived of all means of subsistence." The Directorate would sincerely like to ward off an explosion. The Minister of Finance is instructed to confer on the matter with the legislative committee.

29th Thermidor, Year IV.—Drouet and his *rôle* in the prosecution of the Babeuf conspiracy still engage the attention of the Directorate and lead to debates. Details of execution are entered into which should not find place in the deliberations of sittings devoted to the conception and manage-

ment of matters of the highest rank; thus, after a lengthy discussion as to the way in which Drouet shall be conveyed from prison to the place of trial, it is decided that a coach shall be supplied to him for his journey to the high court at Vendôme, and that he is to start on the 10th. Just as this decision is arrived at by the Directorate, the Minister of Police comes to tell us that Drouet has escaped from the Abbaye prison. Letourneur is deeply distressed at seeing his prey escape him. He is of the opinion that an investigation should be held as to Drouet's escape. The Directorate is in favor of dropping the matter, glad that the national representation has not suffered in its integrity. I loudly proclaim this to be my opinion, even if it is to be cause of my being suspected of having favored Drouet's escape.

Rewbell gives us a few particulars of the underhand doings of the Royalists, in whose existence he seriously believes nowadays. "We should have exterminated the incorrigible enemies in Vendémiaire," he says; "they will be the source of another crisis."

CHAPTER XIII

The children of Orléans at Marseilles—They are denounced—The Directorate sends them to the United States—A word as to the Orléans princes—Am I a Bourbonist or an Orléanist?—My kindness to Sidney Smith misinterpreted—Madier de Morteille—Condition of the South—Dissensions in the Directorate—M. Daubermesnil—Intrigues of Carnot in favor of Doulcet—Parallel between Doulcet and Lacroix—Carnot seeks to replace Bonaparte—He meets with opposition—Cochon's reports—A Royalist placard—Establishing the peace footing of the army—"Radiation" of the *émigrés*—Stratagem resorted to by the English to enter France—Suppression of a few staffs—Dispute between Rewbell and Letourneur—The *conventionnel* Pochole—Singular reproach made to him by Carnot—Fresh assassinations in the South—Intentions of the Directorate—Conference with the Finance Committee—Gibert des Molières—Violent scene between him and Letourneur—Particulars supplied by Hoche as to Royalist plottings—A royal committee in Paris—Carnot's probity—His character—*Fête* of the 1st Vendémiaire—Vice-Admiral Saint-Jullien and Captain Inferney—A lecture read to the Minister of Marine—Truguet's Republican loyalty—Treaty with Spain—Bonaparte's proclamation to the Tyrolese—His fresh victories—His threatening notification to the Court of Naples—Jourdan's disastrous retreat—His place is filled—Beurnonville preferred to Kléber.

1*st Fructidor, Year IV.*—The attention of the Directorate has for some time been engaged with a police report in regard to the alleged machinations of the children of Orléans at Marseilles and their attempt to escape. It redounds to the honor of the princes of that branch, which is still popular, that since the time of Louis XII., and even previously,

the hatred of the aristocracy has never failed them. The most inconceivable pretexts have been greedily pounced upon for the purpose of injuring the Orléans family. It is time to put an end to these malicious doings of a relentless aristocracy. The Directorate takes upon itself to deal in a final manner with this matter, which is repeatedly being brought up by Royalist calumny; hence, in order to cut this fresh accusation short, we enact that the young Orléans princes prisoners at Marseilles shall be conveyed to the United States of America. Noble and generous children, as pure as your age, you are worthy of all the interest the nation bears towards you—an interest which is the expression of gratitude for the love you and yours have ever shown the French people. Although yet so young, your cup has been filled almost to the brim with all the miseries of this world; the sea will perhaps be less cruel to you; intrust the billows with your hitherto so tormented destiny; we feel that your last look will be towards France; her best wishes will follow you wherever you go; with you, she will again see better days, when the sweet recital of reminiscences will take the place of the painful episodes of your long Odyssey.

I had some time previously been entreated by Mme. de Bourbon and the Prince de Conti to lessen their hard fate by allowing them to reside in Paris. There had seemed nothing more simple to me in the case of these aged persons, especially as they had been guilty of no offence during the course of the Revolution, to which they had rather been favorable than otherwise. It was with the greatest difficulty that I obtained what had been asked in a

most respectful and resigned manner. It won for me the appellation of "Bourbonist." To take pity on the misfortunes of the princes of the House of Orléans nowadays is to be an "Orléanist." Nothing is innocent to men who will not enlighten themselves and suffer their conscience to dictate their resolves to them.

Sidney Smith, whom we have seen arrested at Havre, and whom Merlin de Douai, the Minister of Justice, was desirous of having shot there and then as a foreign revolutionary or as a home corrupter, had been rescued from death by my efforts. Now, in the fulness of his gratitude, Sidney Smith had written to me from the Temple. A natural bond of sympathy having followed as a consequence of my replies, I procured the granting of certain alleviations to the interesting commodore, as I was still unable to obtain his liberty. I acted thus, feeling the twofold need of satisfying my conscience and of not letting the Government of which I was a member be charged with a gratuitous harshness which even the stupid action of Merlin could not justify. As it is simpler, instead of making inquiries as to the motives of a deed which vexes you, to throw suspicion and poison over them, I learned that those who knew not to honor the French character by generous dealings little troubled themselves to say that I was in favor of the English, thus procuring the advantage of styling themselves true Frenchmen, and consequently truer Frenchmen than myself.

The deputy Madier de Morteille openly reveals himself as the head of the party no longer concealing its aversion for the Republic. This party sustains and encourages the counter-revolution. The public

spirit grows weaker; the Compagnies du Soleil are organizing in the South; they assassinate Republicans and levy contributions on patriot municipalities, while the Directorate affords a spectacle of hesitancy and weakness. This weakness is the result of the dissensions, the germs of which are to be seen developing every day. Five men there are invested with the strength of thirty millions of their fellow-creatures, whom they can manage at will. They are legally the masters of France and Europe, which they can govern as one family, and knead, so to speak, as they please. In the face of so great a right, and also so great a duty, these five men, whom one would think united and closely knit by a common interest, cannot agree among themselves. How then can the nation which waits and looks on do so?

Unfortunately the irritability of certain members of the Directorate, instead of quieting down, seems to increase day by day. As Carnot cannot directly attack Rewbell and myself, he makes up for it by harassing the Ministers to whom he thinks we are most attached. One of the most estimable deputies, whose veracity carries great weight, M. Daubermesnil, informs us that Carnot is ever seeking to influence his colleagues to dismiss Charles Lacroix and give his position to Doulcet. Lacroix is one of the former head clerks of M. Turgot. Trained in the science and practice of administration at the school of this great Minister, Lacroix is as wise a patriot as he is reliable and well-informed. We have nothing to reproach him with from the day he has had charge of our foreign affairs. Doulcet, to whom Carnot wishes to give the place, is a former *garde du corps*,

utterly without education, and who in all transactions, as well as in administrative matters, has never revealed aught but a rancorous, vindictive, supple, and unprincipled character.

2d Fructidor, Year IV.—Carnot is also desirous that Kellermann, now in command of the Army of the Alps, should take Bonaparte's place in Lombardy and the Tyrol. He has already made this proposition, and refuses to relinquish it. He distrusts Bonaparte, doubtless with some show of reason. At any rate, it cannot be from a fear that he may do something in favor of liberty. Carnot does not clearly explain his motives. Rewbell and I, less agitated by passions for or against individuals, are desirous that things proper should engage our attention. I remind the Directorate of the duty incumbent upon it to promptly give to Italy the organization she asks of us. The citizens of Bologna, Ferrara, and Milan entreat us to protect their independence. Bonaparte has spoken to us in terms of praise of their dispositions.

Just as we receive news of the victories of our several armies, Cochon brings us tidings of a triumph which is not so complete. He was about to arrest Drouet at his brother-in-law's yesterday. He was just a minute too late. By way of compensation he lays before us extracts of the letters he has received from Lyons, Avignon, and the Basses-Alpes, where fresh disturbances are feared.

3d Fructidor, Year IV.—The draft of a treaty with the Pope is discussed. Cochon interrupts the debate to read a placard posted in Lyons and taken from the *Miroir*. He says it is written in a good spirit. Rewbell finds it detestable; it breathes the purest Royalism.

6th Fructidor, Year IV.—The Directorate had referred to its military committee the draft of a message relating to the expenditure on the army in times of peace. Carnot thinks that the strength of the army should be placed at 170,000 men. I am in favor of establishing it at 200,000 men; and this number, necessary to the defence of France, is not exorbitant in view of its population and revenues, if the administration of the War Department is finally regulated. The Directorate adopts.

7th Fructidor, Year IV.—A lengthy debate ensues in regard to the "radiations"[1] of *émigrés*. No more severities are to be exercised, much less acts of vindictiveness, but the law is to be executed.

General Mouret writes from the South that the English, in order to enter France, have had recourse to stratagem, alleging that they have come to parley. This was the system adopted by them at the time of the treason of Toulon. The Ministers are instructed to inform the commissaries and generals in the departments that under no circumstances are any communications with the English to be tolerated.

8th Fructidor, Year IV.—Carnot presents a project for the suppression of the staffs of the Interior and of the Army of the Ocean shore. When voting for this measure of economy, I ask that the Army of the Alps be included in it, since this army is now as useless as its staff. Carnot admits it. This is to be the work of a special enactment.

10th Fructidor, Year IV.—Rewbell and Letourneur are constantly at daggers drawn. The former wishes to repress royalism and the reaction which is preparing; the other sees only anarchy and terrorism.

The *ex-conventionnel* Pochole, who has been exiled from Paris pursuant to a recent measure, begs leave to return. Carnot exclaims, "Let there be no exception; moreover, I can recollect him sitting amid the members of the Montagne." "And where then did you sit?" asks Rewbell. Pochole did not deserve Carnot's remark. He was a prudent patriot, as moderate before as after the 9th Thermidor, and his opinions were ever honest.

12th Fructidor, Year IV.—We learn from official correspondence that fresh assassinations are being committed in the South.

[1] *Radiation:* striking off the list of proscription.—Translator's note.

Bonaparte has notified the Court of Naples that, as its troops have ventured to occupy the territory of the Pope, who has concluded a treaty with the French, this occupation is to be considered a violation of the armistice.

General Jourdan has been driven back to the banks of the Lahn; he fears that the enemy, superior in numbers, will compel him to cross the Rhine again. Most of his stores have been captured, as well as part of his artillery. It would seem that the enemy's cavalry decided the victory.

Jourdan attributes the disasters attendant upon his retreat to dangerous passes and to the inhabitants, who armed themselves. He has burned their villages. He complains of the lack of discipline of the troops, which nevertheless fought with great bravery. However, Jourdan believes he will be able to resume the offensive, because Prince Charles is compelled to send a portion of his army to reinforce the Austrian army opposed to Moreau. Deeply grieved at this reverse, Jourdan tells us that, as he fears he does not possess the confidence of his generals, he is desirous of giving up his command. The Directorate, ever vacillating, does not know whether it is to retain or replace him. Finally it is decided to give Jourdan the command of the Army of the North — a sinecure. That of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse is to be transferred to Beurnonville, the most incapable of French generals. He is preferred to Kléber, whom I had several times recommended. Rewbell, who detests Kléber personally, and Carnot, who fears him, join forces to set aside the most able general.

CHAPTER XIV

Cochon's alarmist report — Baskets full of white cockades — Letourneur bestrides his steed—A nocturnal round—The order of the day—Cochon addresses me sharply—Fresh embarrassments —Conspiracy of the camp of Grenelle—Reception extended to the conspirators—Cusset—Javogne—Headquarters of the conspirators — Fresh text for calumniating me — Carnot and Letourneur throw impediments in the way of the prisoners' defence —One hundred and thirteen brought to trial — Réal defends Drouet—Letourneur's proposition—Rewbell's energy—The ushers of the Directorate—Roubaud, the State messenger—Petty dismissals—Execution of the condemned men—Adjutant Lillet —Inhuman vote of two of the Directors—Expeditions to Ireland and Newcastle—Talleyrand—His intrigues—Rewbell's opinion of him—His illegal proposition—The Duchesse d'Orléans—Her confidence in me—"Daughter of the Mayor of Férole"—The Prince de Conti — Mme. d'Orléans — Her remarkable letter— Cochon's activity—Merlin's grievances—Alternative he proposes to the Directorate—General Hatri—Cochon presides over the executions—Congratulations worthy of him.

COCHON, the Minister of Police, daily brings us fresh reports on the open secret doings of anarchy. He has been laboring under the impression that Letourneur and Carnot constituted the majority of the Directorate, and that consequently he could not do better than fully agree with their passions. Pursuant to this system, he lays before us a fresh report on a gathering, which he claims has taken place during the night, of a number of individuals, mostly members of the former revolutionary committees. Persistent in their wicked designs, these

revolutionists would stop at nothing short of the slaughter of the members of the Directorate and of the Councils, and proclaim the Constitution of 1793.

Another day, as a set-off to his animosity against the Jacobins, he draws up reports against the Royalists. He brings us baskets full of white cockades and white flags, which, he avers, were ordered in Paris by the Prince de Condé; for Royalists and anarchists are on good terms. This is the nightmare of Carnot and Letourneur. The latter talks of nothing but his "resolution to get on horseback if the Jacobins and Royalists only stir." He tells us he has actually mounted a horse and ridden through all the streets of Paris last night; and he confesses with as much pride as regret that no one stirred, probably because people knew he was on horseback. Cochon smiles, but the majority of the Directorate, which is beginning to tire of all this, and to which these homilies are insipid and nauseating, passes to the order of the day.

Astounded at this rebuff, Cochon glances in the direction of Carnot, who averts his eyes in order not to reply to his inquiring look. . . . Just as Cochon is taking his departure, he turns towards me with fawning respect, saying, "As for you, you still persist in sustaining them, citizen Director; your kind heart no less than your true patriotism is responsible for your conduct. Well, this does not prevent your being in the first rank of those whom Babeuf and Félix Lepelletier have sworn to destroy."

Following upon the boredom and fatigue resulting from all these denunciations and disputes, the

Directorate should have been entitled to some few moments of rest. But in the state wherein we had taken France, just come into possession of all the widest liberties, without the Government being strong enough to resist the abuses and excesses which had so far not been stamped out, it would have been presuming too much to believe that we could enjoy complete and undisturbed peace. At the very moment the Babeuf conspiracy is still a burning issue there springs up a fresh affair, whose authors have probably some affinity with that of Babeuf—a plot, in fact, that may perhaps be looked on as its continuation, or rather its execution, by an armed force. For such is the object of the attempt made on the camp of Grenelle which took place on the night of the 23d Fructidor. Here are the facts as derived from a succession of revelations and the debates which ensued thereon.

As a result of all the political actions and reactions which had in succession dominated France from the first days of the Revolution, there were in Paris a large number of citizens of every shade of opinion who had been molested in their respective departments; the majority of them had come to escape the persecution to which they were about to be exposed at home, others doubtless for the purpose of joining in any new enterprises springing up in the capital. Among these refugees were a large number of those exaggerated patriots who previous to the 9th Thermidor had held official positions, and who, unaware of their limitations and the progress of the times, still aspired to public offices as a primary means of existence and of guarantee against want and their foes. They had failed in their quest,

and were discontented; their discontent sought a sympathy which they found in a few men who, formerly prominent in the National Convention, keenly felt the humiliation of no longer being deputies, and who likewise had not succeeded in obtaining positions from the Directorate. These malcontents, who took their disappointment and resentment for patriotism, were joined by, or rather received offers of services from, two or three generals whom the Directorate had for good cause not placed on the active list. In order to define their objects and rally ideas, the leaders began by uniting on a primary point: a constitution more popular than the one of the Year III.—the Constitution of 1793, which the people, they said, had sanctioned, and of which it had been deprived by the immolation of its most generous defenders on the 4th Prairial. Entertaining no doubts as to the ease with which they would be able to effect a like change, several of the most daring undertook to proceed to the camp of Grenelle, in order to sound the dispositions of the troops; these were excellent, as they thought, so they informed those who had intrusted them with the mission. It was thereupon resolved that the most resolute patriots who on a count thought they could muster to the number of 1200, should assemble at the camp of Grenelle to fraternize; in other words, to defend liberty against its tyrants. They were then to proceed to the Luxembourg, seize the five Directors, chop off the heads of the "quinquemvirs," and carry them on pikes through the streets. A Dictator was to be proclaimed and conducted in triumph to the Legislature, which would sanction his elevation as ema-

nating from the sovereign people. The deputies whom they styled "unworthy" were to be placed under arrest; the others were to form a single assembly under the orders of the Dictator. This assembly was to appoint a provisional government, to which it was proposed to elect Fréron, Tallien, Antonelle, Drouet, Réal, Babeuf, Germain, and others, the Dictator to sit as president. A National Convention was to be convoked to establish institutions and a truly democratic social pact.

Deriving stimulus from their confidence in these plans, the execution of which seemed a matter of course to men led astray by their energy itself, the fraternizers, led by generals in uniform, proceeded to the appointed place, and entered the camp of Grenelle without encountering any opposition, to the cries of "Long live liberty!"

But the cat had been let out of the bag for over a fortnight, and the police of Cochon, together with that of Carnot, had made every preparation to receive and "exterminate" the unfortunate visitors. This was Letourneur's expression. He was continually repeating: "We must be ridded of the Jacobins, and their death alone can do it." The conspirators were singing patriotic hymns, the refrain of which they believed came from the lips of the soldiers in the camp, when these, who had received their orders, fired a couple of volleys from their muskets, laying low forty or fifty of those who had been the first to enter the camp. One hundred and thirteen were made prisoners in the cruel trap set for them. Among them were the *ex-conventionnels* Cusset and Javogne, General Froy, and Adjutant-General Lau. It has been stated subsequently that

during this skirmish the civilian leaders of the conspiracy were awaiting results on the Quai Voltaire, their headquarters. They were the men who had compromised their credulous followers. They fled without having shared their dangers.

This deplorable attempt of a few insensate individuals under the cloak of patriotism afforded another fine pretext for the aristocratic and Royalist party to compromise and accuse me, in accord with the Directorate. They invented the falsehood that the presumed although unnamed Dictator was Barras, and this assertion was repeated with such boldness that I was compelled to justify myself by defying my calumniators. I solemnly swear that neither in thought nor in deed was I in any way connected with this horrible affair, which was foreign to me in all respects; and I may repeat here what I have already stated in defence of myself against the imputations made against me in the matter of the Babeuf conspiracy, to wit, that my union with such men and such ideas would in my directorial position have been, in addition to a neglect of my duties, a veritable "suicide." The generals of the camp of Grenelle, Commandant Malo, General Brune, and all those who took part in the repression of the plot, have, since and previous to the outbreak, stated that it was in a pure spirit of invention that my name was coupled with the various accusations following upon it; that the conspirators, far from separating me from my colleagues in the matter of their proposed violent deeds, did me the honor of giving me the priority of their fury against what they styled the "directorial pentarchy."

But, although I had cause to feel some agitation

at this attempt on my personality, and although it might be compromised to a greater degree than that of my colleagues, I did not consider it necessary to join in their passionate feelings, nor did I hold that it authorized me to deprive those guilty of the final protection the law grants them on their arraignment. The unfortunate prisoners were to be brought before the military commission of the Temple; it was incontestable that they had been caught red-handed, arms in hand. There could be no other alternative than to hand them over to the most expeditious military justice. Why then add to the severity of the law that which it was far from countenancing, of denying them the means of defence? Carnot and Letourneur were in the first place opposed to their having non-official defenders; then they argued that a single counsel for them all would suffice. This way of looking at things seemed to me to recall in too hideous a fashion the law of the 22d Prairial, which had done away with defenders before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and had been passed on the recommendation of the Committee of Public Safety, without any opposition on the part of Carnot. I believed in all conscience and with the sincere desire of not suffering the anarchists to prevail, but of paralyzing them at the very least, that since Carnot and Cochon had been warned of the conspiracy for a long time past, they should have stifled it in its infancy, broken it up, smothered it, instead of feeding and fanning it; and they would have re-established and maintained the public peace far more surely by displaying a vigilance superior to all plots than in permitting and causing the present one to be consummated, in order to procure themselves afterwards

the self-gratification of discovery and the satisfaction of witnessing human carnage.

Rewbell was in complete harmony with me in the matter, but we constituted the minority, and our wishes met with but little success; now, as people are never satisfied with a triumph repudiated by their conscience, they must needs impute motives to their adversaries in order to elude the question at issue; hence was conceived the idea of bruiting abroad that I was the Dictator named *in petto* by the Grenelle conspirators. The one hundred and thirty-three prisoners were arraigned before the military commission of the Temple; thirty-two were sentenced to death, thirty to transportation, twenty-five to imprisonment, while forty-six were acquitted.

Meanwhile the prosecution of the Babeuf affair pursues its even tenor. A letter from Drouet announces that Réal, his non-official defender, has been commissioned by him to be present at the breaking of the seals affixed in his domicile. Carnot considers Réal one of the anarchist leaders, and that he should have been arrested instead of now being the defender of his accomplices. I attempt to defend Réal, who, I may say parenthetically, has never gone to any great trouble towards defending me in later times. Letourneur expresses his astonishment, and waxes indignant at Drouet daring to write when he has escaped, and to speak of his defence when he is a fugitive from justice. He thinks he is giving birth to a sublime idea when saying that Réal should be shadowed by good detectives, by which means Drouet's place of hiding might be discovered. Rewbell replies to him:

"Were I the accused individual, I would blow out the brains of the President of the Council for making such a proposition."

As if it were not enough for us to have two conspiracies on our hands, we are now called upon to deal with officials holding petty positions. For the last few days Carnot has been calling for the discharge of the ushers of the Directorate, who, he claims, are all anarchists. "Not one of them ought to be allowed to keep his place," he remarks; "they might throw open the doors to the very Jacobins, against whom they must be kept closed. We cannot adjourn to-day ere we have discharged these ushers." The men protest most respectfully against being dismissed. Letourneur flies into a passion, and wishes to have it placarded that they have been expelled. Rewbell replies to him: "Do better still: kill them." Larevellière supports us, but the dismissal is pronounced, and Secretary Lagarde hastens to deprive the poor ushers of their sashes of office. Carnot also includes in his proscription of subordinate anarchists Roubaud, a State messenger.

3d Complementary Day, Year IV.—The sitting opens with a proposition to transport immediately those whom the military commission has sentenced to "imprisonment" only. The execution of those condemned to death has been intrusted to an adjutant named Lillet; this officer displays emotion and even irresolution when it comes to the point of shooting down men carried away by their passion, men whose past life had been connected with the cause of liberty. The suggestion is made of dismissing him from the service, and even of arrest-

ing him for showing weakness; nevertheless he fulfils his painful duty. I abstain from naming the two colleagues whom I charge with this inhuman motion.

The Directorate adopts in principle an expedition to Ireland and Newcastle. Such an undertaking can only succeed by employing skilled and patriotic sailors.

Several reports announce that the former Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, whose name was recently struck off the list of *émigrés*, is indulging in all sorts of intrigues with the various parties. Rewbell avers that "Talleyrand is serving the foreigner." I reply that "Talleyrand is, like so many others, serving his ambition and interest." "One does not prevent the other," rejoins Rewbell; "moreover," he goes on to say, "there has never existed a more perverse and dangerous individual, nor one better deserving exile from France. I know him from the days of the Constituent Assembly, where I saw him intrigue with the worst elements; he is a man made to ruin all who come into contact with him; it has been robbing the list of the *émigrés* to expunge his name from it; it was in its proper place there, and I move that it be restored to the list." I beg leave to make a remark. Rewbell, who was in the habit of showing towards me a deference which I returned, waxes furious, and even protests against my being heard. I insist, recalling that it is *ultra vires* for us to place a name on the list of the *émigrés*, as we are now asked to do; that this is precisely the measure rejected by the Directorate when proposed in the case of Félix Lepelletier and Drouet. The two members, who indeed recall that on their having

insisted on this measure against the two anarchists it was rejected, seek in their turn to fall back on the morality of the matter and on the law. With me they agree that it would be iniquitous; I add, laughingly, "And even somewhat revolutionary." Rewbell admits having gone too far, and frankly expresses his regrets. "I withdraw my motion," he says, "and beg you will consider it as not having been put. Let Talleyrand remain in France if he pleases; I was giving him too great an importance; provided," he continues, mocking us with no little bitterness, "you do not seek some day to make of him a high public official! Why not one of our Ministers?"

The Duchesse d'Orléans, who had several times done me the justice of believing that I could not remain unfeeling towards a position as cruel and undeserved as her own, did me the honor of addressing to me a most well-grounded complaint. Although the times were no longer those of the Terror, there still remained traces of it in the obligatory language of the day, carrying with it, so to speak, the legal force of academic consecration. Thus she was styled "*citoyenne* Louise-Marie Penthièvre, daughter of the Mayor of Férole." Neither the Constituent nor the Legislative Assembly had included the Duc de Penthièvre among the dangerous Bourbons. The prince had been authorized to fill public functions. It was by virtue of their claim to citizenship that the other Bourbons who had remained in France after escaping the revolutionary axe came forward. In particular, the Prince de Conti and Mlle. de Bourbon, *née* Orléans, who, writing to me in most cordial style, did not omit

calling me their fellow-citizen, decking themselves in the title of *citoyen* and *citoyenne*, and closing their letters, as they began them, with the formulas of fraternity. Mme. d'Orléans, when discussing with much wisdom and reason the question of her material interests, added that "if circumstances have so far not permitted that justice should be rendered me, I have never felt the pain of fearing that any Frenchman would contest my quality of good *citoyenne*, nor be desirous of not letting me enjoy all the rights of citizenship."

4th Complementary Day, Year IV. — The Minister Cochon, not content with the reports of his detectives at home, lays before us others from foreign parts; they reveal forecasts of conspiracies unearthed by his active genius. He shows us the letter of a Dutch envoy who has been written to from Berlin; his correspondent informs him that there would be trouble in Paris between the 7th and 17th of October.

Merlin, the Minister of Justice, who believes he has reason for complaining of outrageous personal calumnies, comes and tells us how grieved he is over the matter, and tenders us his resignation. In one and the same breath he begs the Directorate, should it decline to accept it, to write him a letter expressing its confidence in him, in order to console him for all he is enduring. Merlin's request is granted; the Directorate in its letter assures its Minister of all the confidence he deserves.

General Hatri, as commander of the division of the Interior, had been compelled to preside over the execution of the Grenelle prisoners sentenced to death by the military commission. Cochon, whose

place it was not in the slightest degree to take part in this painful duty, took upon himself to attend, considering it an agreeable attribute of his ministry. He personally went to the place of execution to see with his own eyes how things happened. Anxious that the Directorate should not remain in ignorance of his self-sacrifice, he presents himself with General Hatri, for the purpose of reporting the execution of the doomed men; he considers himself entitled to congratulations, and is not deceived in his expectations.

CHAPTER XV

A glance at our foreign policy—The tricolor cockade in Prussia—Austria in distress—Pelet de la Lozère—His peace proposals—His political apprenticeship — Bonaparte's fresh triumphs — Würmser routed—Measures taken in regard to the war with Austria—Marmont—A public audience granted him by the Directorate — Baron de Mandesloke — Prussians the Italians of Germany — Humiliating refusal met with by the Pretender at the hands of the King of Prussia—In what respect kings do not resemble wolves—Different conduct of the Elector of Saxony—Suspension of hostilities favorable to the Elector of the Palatinate—Death of General Marceau—His fine character—Regrets which follow him — Reciprocal recriminations of Moreau and Jourdan — Illegal opinion of the Minister Merlin — Carnot on Kellermann — His two opinions — Carnot's despair at Jourdan's retreat — My views — Measures proposed by me — They are adopted—M. Rœderer—His political opinions—His pamphlets and journalistic articles—Carnot's system—How he understands "union and forgiveness"—General Willot—Condition of the department of the Allier — Discussion between Rewbell and Carnot concerning public officials — Carnot's outburst on the license of the press—Etienne Martin—Carnot's strange behavior towards him—A petition for clemency—Debate on the Treaty of Naples — Letourneur and Carnot desirous of dismissing Lacroix — M. Doulcet once more — Belmonti, the Neapolitan Minister—Revelations made by the men sentenced in the camp of Grenelle affair—Cailleux and the monk Filleux—Debate on the prayer for mercy—Letter from General Willot—His denunciations of the anarchists — Opinions divided in the Directorate in regard to the disturbances in the South — Expulsion of our two agents from the Ile de France — The *Journal de Paris* — MM. de la Platière, Rœderer, and Corancez—The poet Despaze and his *Five Men*—Should these gentry be encouraged?

I FEEL the need of once more tearing myself away from the painful scenes at home, and casting a momentary glance at the progress of our political establishment abroad, determined and sustained by the victorious march of our armies.

The King of Prussia has authorized French citizens to don the tricolor cockade in his dominions. Austria, whose armies have been successively destroyed, knows not how to repair her misfortunes. She makes a demand upon all her resources in men, horses, and provisions; she calls out her last reserves, and no longer hesitates to admit all her fears for the safety of Bohemia and her dominions proper.

Pelet de la Lozère proposes to the Council of Five Hundred that it shall request the Directorate to hasten the bringing about of a general peace. It would seem that the surest means of attaining this result would be to support the fine march of our armies, for it is only well-defined and consolidated triumphs which can secure peace to a new republic opposed to ancient monarchies combating the very principles of its existence. "The kings have thrown down the glove to us," said a celebrated revolutionist; "we must pick it up." M. Pelet, on whom his quality of *conventionnel* should seemingly impose the same interests as on ourselves, does not so far seem enlightened by the rays of true diplomacy; his apprenticeship in this line is doubtless postponed to the time when the Republican Pelet will enter the service of the Imperial Government. The Directorate, which should pay small attention to such attacks, can but perceive that it is sought to divert it from its noble mission, and so it becomes necessary

to give an official denial to a maliciously circulated rumor that it had refused to receive our English plenipotentiary.

Bonaparte writes from Castelli, on the 23d Fructidor, that he has followed up the enemy in its retreat; that after several engagements, Würmser has sought shelter in Mantua with the remnants of the famous army which was to conquer the whole of France.

The Directorate has taken prompt steps to reinforce the Armies of the Sambre-et-Meuse and of the Rhine. The offensive is to be resumed in every direction: in the first place, because this is the method which suits the French character, additionally strengthened by the republican spirit; and next, because it is no less essential to give relief to Bonaparte, who informs us continually that the enemy is bringing greater numbers to bear on him.

Marmont, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp, is admitted to present to the Directorate at a public audience the flags brought from the Army of Italy.

Baron de Mandesloke, Minister of the Duke of Würtemberg, presents his credentials.

4th Complementary Day, Year IV.[1]—The Prussians have for a long time past been styled the Italians of Germany—in other words, while ever boasting of the power bequeathed them by the Great Frederick, they seem to have inherited his trickery only; nay, in this respect they may perhaps have made some progress in diplomacy. As an in-

[1] The "complementary" days were the five days added to the twelve months of the Republican year to complete the 365 days of the solar year; these complementary days corresponded to the five days added by the Egyptians to their year. They were for a while called *sans-culottides*.—Translator's note.

stance: the Pretender, with whom they have been in harmony in regard to so many treaties, happening to pass through Berlin, the King of Prussia, without any consideration for a brother in misfortune (unless misfortune be a reason for kings to abdicate fraternity), has not allowed the Pretender to be presented to him. His ambassador seeks to show off this conduct to us as that of the character and loyalty of the King of Prussia to the French Republic. We are far from recognizing such a sentiment in an act of weakness which may truly be called one of cowardice; it may even be styled an act of treason, in the sense of the presumed union existing among kings and of the world's opinion, not to speak of the attachment they should preserve towards one another. But if it has been said that wolf does not eat wolf, I cannot say as much of kings. The Elector of Saxony, undoubtedly far less powerful and strong than the King of Prussia, did not consider he could dispense with welcoming respectfully the Pretender on his way through his dominions. In so doing he is not violating his agreement of neutrality towards the French Republic, which cannot blame him for an act of common civility and respect towards misfortune; it constitutes respect for one's self and decency towards society as a whole.

The Directorate having authorized General Moreau to treat with the Elector of the Palatinate, a suspension of hostilities advantageous to the French has been concluded. The troops of the Elector are withdrawn from the coalition—a free passage is opened to our troops through his dominions; in addition, he gives ten millions, horses, sup-

plies, and provisions of all kinds, and some paintings. Plenipotentiaries are to be sent to Paris to negotiate a final peace.

General Marceau is mortally wounded at the engagement of Altenkirchen by a Tyrolese ambushed in the woods. Marceau was only twenty-seven years of age. He had already commanded in chief, and bade fair to be one of France's most able generals. He was likewise a citizen, a thing still seen in the armies of those days. The French feel how much they have lost by his death. The enemy's army itself rendered him funeral honors.

The military system of a government disposing of several armies at one and the same time must regard them as a whole—that is to say, all their movements must start from one point to meet at a given centre; the divisions composing the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse have necessarily, according to their topographical position, been subordinate to such a course. It possesses great advantages when the generals who are at various points sincerely agree, co-operate intelligently, and start their troops with the same foot, so to speak, in order to reach the goal. The Directorate has been unfortunate in not meeting with this spirit of union. Jourdan, whose manners appear benign and resigned, did not act harmoniously with Pichegru. This is not the place to go into the matter. He does not seem to agree any better with Moreau. The latter, who commands the Army of the Rhine, announces that his retreat was rendered necessary by that of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. He intends to resume the offensive in a few days. On the other hand, Jourdan writes from Weslhau that his army would not have

been driven to retreat had the Army of the Rhine co-operated with it. These two armies seem since their formation to have, generally speaking, been more actively engaged in accusing than in supporting each other. The germs of dissension sown between the two generals can but be fatal to the Fatherland if, independently of the harm resulting therefrom to the direction of the armies, the chiefs shall some day become involved in political questions and bring to them the consequences of their hatreds engendered by military rivalry.

5th Complementary Day, Year IV., 1st and 2d Vendémiaire, Year V.—The present Minister of Justice, Merlin, still seeks to retain the arbitrary power he enjoyed while in charge of the Ministry of Police. He presents to the Directorate a report advocating retroactive effect in the matter of judgments rendered, and the once more placing on trial of citizens who have been acquitted. "The interest of the State," he argues, "should govern jurisprudence." Merlin forgets that ours is a constitutional government. Rewbell indignantly breaks out against Merlin's proposition. Both of us declare that we will oppose any attempt to put acquitted men on trial again for the same offence. The Directorate takes no action in the matter.

Carnot, true to his idea of making Kellermann play a *rôle* in opposition to Bonaparte, sings in pompous strain the praises of the old Alsatian, whom he classes among the greatest generals, arguing that if he is not to retain the command of the Army of the Alps, he should at least be compensated with the Turin ambassadorship. When a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Carnot

had looked upon Kellermann with a far less favorable eye, especially at the time the name of that general was included in the list handed to Fouquier-Tinville, the Public Prosecutor, of those to be arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal—a list about which he consulted me at the request of Robespierre. I did not look upon Kellermann as either a great soldier or a great friend of liberty; in my eyes he was nothing more than a born subaltern, whose character was more artful and pliable than determined and strong; but I considered him incapable of treason, and so I had saved one more victim from the scaffold. Carnot, viewing matters from a higher plane than I did, and believing perhaps that it was good policy to chop off the heads of a few generals, had not helped me to save Kellermann; at the very most he had classed him among those who were the objects of his contempt, and whose lives were unworthy of engaging his attention. Nowadays it suits Carnot to make a great man of Kellermann.

The retreat of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse is painful news to the Directorate. Carnot seems prostrated by it; he paces the room with long strides, his hand to his forehead, saying, "All is lost." "As for me," I remark to him, "I believe that nothing is lost when we have at our disposal the immense resources and energy of Republican France; all that is required is to know how to use them to good advantage. We are to-day in possession of a military organization whose possibility we did not even suspect at the time the coalition threatened France and was within forty leagues of Paris. All the great framework of war is there; it

needs merely to put the finishing touches to a few portions of it, and follow in the tracks the Revolution has opened to the generals created by it on the field of battle. It needs but to stimulate the weak, give them fresh life, and compel them to advance as in the first years of our existence. I request that the Minister of War be instructed to lay before us a statement of the reinforcements he has despatched to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse; then let us carefully and with coolness examine what is really the situation into which Jourdan has allowed himself to be forced, whereupon we shall be able to determine on a vigorous course, one capable of rescuing it."

The Directorate adopts my proposition.

From the day that the stage of the Revolution has been first thrown open to ambition, we have witnessed the sight of men devoured by that passion spring up in various forms at consecutive periods, and pursue their prey with a fury oftentimes attended by the most fatal results. One of these men, whose versatility of conduct coupled with a certain tinge of perfidy has been the cause of his being kept away from public affairs, M. Rœderer, would like nowadays to take part in them. On the Directorate manifesting its unwillingness to avail itself of the services of this individual, he is at his wits' end to find a way of entering the Government; he believes that the best means would be to overthrow it and establish another in its stead. With this object in view, he spends some little time writing pamphlets and journalistic articles. Under the impression that, were the Legislature reinforced by a fresh batch of members, they would constitute a fulcrum for his lever, he would like to see the Directorate then and

there on what he calls a level, and in harmony with the Legislature which is to be renewed next Prairial. Since, according to his expectations, the majority in the Councils would establish a new system, the Directorate must needs bow to it, and act in consequence at this early date. Thus, according to the condescending counsels of M. Rœderer, there would be nothing better for us to do than to submit at once to the results of the coming elections, which we cannot prevent. The opinion of M. Rœderer has an intimate connection with the conduct of Carnot, who feels it all the more incumbent upon him to protect us from the popular movements and conspiracies undertaken against the Government. Carnot daily plunges deeper and deeper into this system, saying: "The Jacobins are our chief and only enemies, and the officials who hunt them down are worthy of our consideration." Carnot succeeds in securing approval of the course pursued in the South by General Willot. "He is in high favor with all decent folk," he remarks. At the same time Carnot wishes to see the officials of the department of the Allier dismissed; some of them, he says, have been amnestied in regard to acts committed during the Revolution by a law passed in Brumaire. According to Carnot, no man who has been amnestied should be suffered to hold a public office. Here is the principle of union and forgiveness of the past recognized, interpreted, and practised in a fashion which will in the future again be resorted to, but with a totally different application.

Letourneur and Rewbell reply to Carnot that they have positive information that peace reigns in the department of the Allier, and that the inhab-

itants are obeying the laws. Were it, moreover, resolved upon to summarily dismiss all officials against whom some information has been laid, can we lose sight of all that laid against ourselves, the deputies, and the Republicans? Were such a course adopted, not a patriot would be left standing. This was recently shown us in the case of Merlin, who found himself exposed to serious charges, and to whom we were compelled to give a testimonial of our satisfaction, in order not to let him go under. Carnot replies that the case of Merlin carries no weight with public opinion. "And you yourself, as well as myself," says Rewbell to him, "do you think that we enjoy general approval?" 5th Vendémiaire, Year V.

Carnot and Letourneur seem more than ordinarily put out by the utterances and writings of the revolutionists and even counter-revolutionists. The license of the press is pushed to such a degree of audacity that it is, according to them, necessary to promptly take vigorous measures, to establish a censorship over all writings, and place printing-presses under the supervision of the police. The majority of the Directorate does not fall in with these views. Carnot seems to show cause for his anger in saying that Poultier, the editor of the *Ami des lois*, has dared to speak with respect in his publication of one Etienne Martin of Avignon, and even to write directly to him, Carnot, commending to him this "hideous terrorist." I consider it my duty to point out to Carnot that his passion is carrying him too far, and that he is perhaps mistaken as to the individual. The sitting over, we go to the drawing-room. Etienne Martin, who is there, takes the liberty of approaching Carnot, who

welcomes him with pointed good-will, and promises him to do honor to Poultier's recommendation. We gladly see in this reception not a change of language and conduct akin to falseness, but an admission on the part of Carnot of a mistake his good faith would not allow him to persist in.

Cochon presents himself before the Directorate accompanied by four members of the *bureau central;* they announce that four of the prisoners sentenced by the military commission of the Temple offer to make revelations on condition that their lives shall be spared. The right of mercy, even conditional, does not appertain to the Directorate under a social organization wherein the sovereign law knows no exceptions. The Directorate authorizes the Chiefs of Police to reply that a message shall be sent to the Councils if the revelations are found to be of actual and great importance. Two members of the military commission are ordered to be present while the prisoners' statements are being taken.

The envoy of the Neapolitan Court would like to elude several conditions of the treaty of peace concluded with the Directorate. It had been agreed upon that Naples should pay fifty millions to the French Republic, besides giving 2000 stallions and a few articles from the excavations of Herculaneum. The two last-named contributions could perhaps be dispensed with, but the pecuniary indemnity was the fundamental point of the treaty. No less a one, according to the Directorate, as the born protector of those oppressed because of their love of liberty, was that Neapolitan patriots arrested for their opinions should remain in prison. It is with regret that I remember that on the Directorate being of the opinion

that, should this part of the treaty not be faithfully executed, the Neapolitan envoy should leave France, Carnot called this decision "detestable." On the other hand, he considered the envoy's reply as most natural. The guilty one in the matter was, in the eyes of Carnot, the Minister Lacroix, whom he charged with not having strictly carried out the instructions of the Directorate.

Acting on the belief that he cannot suffer Carnot to express an opinion without crowning it with his eloquence, Letourneur enhances upon the severe remarks of Carnot, who had been gracious enough to consider Lacroix a fool only. Both clamor in chorus for the dismissal of Lacroix. They would like the negotiation with Naples to be intrusted to a more enlightened man. 'Tis M. Doulcet, ever lying in wait for a ministry. I am again compelled to oppose my two colleagues. Rewbell gives me his support, maintaining that the Republic, which has been insulted, cannot forego the reparation she is entitled to. The Directorate, adhering to its principles of moderation, resolves that Belmonti, the Neapolitan Minister, shall be informed of the intentions of the Directorate, and that no definitive course shall be adopted until after receiving his final reply.

The Minister of Police and members of the *bureau central* return with the declarations made by the prisoners. They state that Cailleux and Filleux distributed money among them, that Cusset was with them, and that they had reckoned on the battalion of the department of the Gard to carry out the plot in regard to the camp of Grenelle. Rewbell recommends that a message be sent to the Councils in favor of clemency, although the revelations are unim-

portant. It seems to him that the number of men executed is sufficient by way of example, and that the matter should go no further. Letourneur exclaims that an attempt is being made to save the guilty. After discussing the matter, the Directorate passes to the order of the day. Moreover, all the condemned men have been unanimous in declaring that nothing that they could reveal would implicate any of the members of the Government.

9th and 10th Vendémiaire, Year V.—Carnot reads to us a letter from General Willot, who alleges that the anarchists are bestirring themselves at Marseilles; he requires troops to repress them. He complains of the presence in the department of citizen Mauche, a partisan of anarchy. He denies the truth of the charges brought against the Royalists of the South, asserting that no such party exists; the tribunals and authorities are following a constitutional course. Letourneur and Carnot indorse Willot's views, and call for the dismissal of officials suspected of anarchy. Rewbell and I reply to Willot. I prove to him by my letters that it is protected Royalism which is acquiring a dangerous influence in the South.

The two agents sent to the Ile de France have been expelled from that colony. They are admitted into the presence of the Directorate. An attempt is made to approve of their conduct on their mere word. I ask that the matter be postponed until the Directorate shall receive the necessary information to decide between its agents and those of whom they complain.

Letourneur sings the praises of the *Journal de Paris*, without excepting from his eulogium an article attacking both himself and Carnot. Both propose to grant some encouragement to the proprietors of

this newspaper, MM. de la Platière, Rœderer, and Corancez, and to the poet Despaze, of Bordeaux, who, after having indulged in satires during reactionary times, now indites panegyrics in honor of the reigning power. He has written a pamphlet entitled *The Five Men;* the title would make you believe it is a history, whereas it consists of nothing but an ignoble toadyism of us. According to the work of M. Despaze, all five of us possess every merit, every quality, every talent, and every virtue. "Were I to reason from the point of my self-love," I say to my colleagues, "I should no less than yourselves feel flattered at the compliments of M. Despaze; but were I to think that they deserve what he wants, viz., money, I should give him some out of my own pocket, and not out of the public coffers. Each one of us must attend to what concerns him, and not look to the State to reward flatterers on our behalf; on the same principle do I oppose making a pecuniary grant to the *Journal de Paris.* The public is the one to give both honor and fortune to newspapers. If they truly defend the nation's cause, they will be rewarded by an increased subscription list. Every merchant, banker, or pastrycook in Paris would be as much entitled to receive pecuniary aid from you, if they asked for it. You would be the first to answer them as I do M. Rœderer: 'Be honest in your dealings, do well what you do, sell good merchandise, and you will not lack customers.'" The Directorate rejects the motion and passes to the order of the day. The journalists are left to find their wages and their reward in their deeds.

CHAPTER XVI

Distressing situation of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Joubert—Jourdan—A glance at the condition of that army—English merchandise—Fresh denunciations against the anarchists—Perrin Achard—The tavern in the Rue de Vaugirard—Drouet, Robert Lindet, Méaulle, Thuriot, and Duhem—A drunkard's plot—General Foissac-Latour embarrassed—Another attempt to secure Lacroix's dismissal—The sappers of the 10th Regiment—The Directorate's reply to them—The National Guard—Lagarde, our secretary, put in his proper place—Changes in departmental administrations—The finance committee of the Ancients—Barbé-Marbois—Lafont-Ladébat—Dupont de Nemours—Their indecent departure from the Directorate—Thirion and Thuriot—"Original sin"—Petitions for dismissals—The commissaries of the department of the Sarthe—A *Life* of Louis XVI. denounced—How the Directorate deals with it—Debate on the treaty with Naples—Correspondence of Mme. Quirini with Venice—Rewbell's *bourgeoise* naïveté—As to dinners—Once more the treaty with Naples—It is signed—Bonaparte denounces Willot—The commissary Garreau—Lively debate in regard to Willot's dismissal—What results from it—Formation of a central committee for the appointment of public functionaries—Intrigues of the various parties in Moreau's army—The Pope openly violates his treaty with France—Military executions—A trait of ferocity—Gagnant butchered together with his brother—Cochon's report on Piquet the younger's behavior on the 13th Vendémiaire—Endless denunciations of the Minister Cochon—Carnot on Robert Lindet—Cochon calls for blood—It is denied him—Kléber general-in-chief—Discussion of the treaty with Portugal—Proposition made in this connection—Singular motive governing the approval granted to it by two of my colleagues—I withhold mine—Moreau victorious—Carnot denounces General Dummy—Royalist plots in the department of the Lozère—The Pope's appeal against the French—The Minister Cochon's abject

fright—Bertrand—Adjutant Dumesnil—Arbitrary measures proposed against them—A tardy return to humanity.

11th and 12th Vendémiaire, Year V.—It has been seen how, failing to follow the prescribed plan, the two Armies of the Rhine had in melancholy fashion drifted away from their destination. They were to have advanced, in order to converge for the purpose of supporting each other; they did the very opposite; they have become weak through advancing separately. Jourdan no longer has Pichegru whom he can charge with his reverses, so it must needs be Moreau. The Directorate is in want of positive and direct information as to the unfortunate position of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Joubert, a former member of the Convention, a delegate with that army, has been retained there by us as commissary of the Government. Joubert, who comes straight from the army, is received at a sitting of the Directorate. He declares that Jourdan has not preserved any steadiness, that he has all but lost his wits. "He is a general who no longer has a firm seat in his saddle," he says, "since the fear of the Committee of Public Safety no longer sits behind him." The same may be said of some of the other chiefs; but by rousing the spirits of some and replacing others, the fine Army of Sambre-et-Meuse may once more march to victory. It has not lost more than 6000 men, while the great divisional commanders, such as Lefèbvre, Kléber, and Bernadotte, possess and deserve the confidence of the soldiers. They will yet make heroes of them, but the Government must once more deal vigorously with the generals; soldiers constitute the species

of men possessing the least spontaneity. As they labor under the impression of accomplishing everything with passive obedience, it is necessary they should receive all their motive force from a superior command.

Several letters received from various ports denounce the importation of English merchandise and the apathy of the authorities whose duty it is to prevent this. The administrative powers of the Government seem to me sufficient to remedy the evil. Carnot thinks new measures, even legislative, are necessary. As a result, a message is to be sent.

There is nothing equalling the selection of the wrong man for an important position to worry those in power, who dare not correct their mistake from the dread of having to confess to it. The command given to Willot in the South does not leave us a moment's peace. A fresh letter arrives from this general; he complains that the municipality of Toulon contests his authority to issue proclamations; hence he charges it with Jacobinism. Carnot again brings up his proposition for the dismissal of the authorities. Rewbell and I renew our opposition to these dismissals, unless for cause. The matter is referred to the Minister of the General Police, with orders to report thereon.

We are not yet rid of denunciations against the anarchists. The Minister of Police brings a declaration signed "Perrin Achard." According to this informer, it was resolved in a tavern in the Rue de Vaugirard that Drouet, Robert Lindet, Méaulle, Thuriot, and Duhem should constitute an insurrectionary committee; that, in the first place, the Thermidorians Barras, Tallien, Legendre, and Fréron should be killed; that what could be amalgamated should be taken from the Constitutions of 1793 and 1795—the result of this piece of work to be submitted within a month to the people, who would accept it. The Terror would be the order of the day. The chiefs to be Cusset and Javogne. I point out that Cusset and Javogne have already been shot, thus rendering somewhat difficult of execution the plot of which they are to have the leadership. In all this I see but the result of indiscreet potations, and I ask that the whole matter be referred back to the tavern, with a hope that the police will henceforth ask for information from better sources.

Simultaneously comes a letter from General Foissac-Latour, in command of the camp of Grenelle. Several of the condemned men have appealed and ask for a respite. He believes his responsibility compromised. The order of the day is adopted over the whole matter.

Letourneur and Carnot renew their motion for the dismissal of the Minister Lacroix. Having failed to get Doulcet accepted as his successor, they now put forward Barthélemy, our ambassador to Switzerland. No decision is reached.

13th Vendémiaire, Year V.—The sappers of the 10th Regiment garrisoning La Rochelle, who have formerly served under Drouet, send us a petition in his favor. Merlin sees in this action a crime which should be prosecuted; he naïvely reads to us a report drawn up against the bold petitioners, in which he asks no less than that they should be court-martialled. Souls devoid of loftiness and pity are ever lacking in intelligence, and unable to understand the impulses of generous men. Letourneur fears that so gentle a method will constitute an inducement to acquit the terrorists; he is in favor of sending them before the high court. Merlin replies to him that this would be contrary to law. It would then be more simple to leave the sappers in peace with their petition, which does not constitute a crime. The Directorate contents itself with sending the sappers before the Council of Discipline.

14th Vendémiaire, Year V.—The plan for the final organization of the guard of the Directorate, discussed at several sittings with the Ministers of War and of the Interior, is adopted. The secretary-general to the Directorate, Lagarde, ironically remarks that one should "have taken into consideration in regard to this organization the suggestion of Poultier, the law's friend." This is a way of paying court to the enemies of this deputy. Such is oftentimes the wit of those who are not known to possess any other. The Directorate informs the secretary that he had better attend to his duties.

15th Vendémiaire, Year V.—The first duty and most tiring work of new governments is the busying themselves with the changes to be made in officialdom. Every passion is brought into play to deceive those who attain power; some seek to retain their

posts, others to obtain them, and interests more than ever come forward as opinions. Hence the task of the Directorate is just at present a most difficult one. Several departmental administrations have to be replaced; the various deputations are divided as to the selection of new officials. As usual, Carnot and Letourneur say, "Beware of appointing anarchists." Rewbell replies, as is his wont, "Do not set aside Republicans."

The finance committee of the Council of Ancients is admitted for the purpose of concerting with us as to the propositions made to the Council in this respect. Barbé-Marbois and Lafont-Ladébat take advantage of this reunion to interpellate Rewbell in a manner altogether personal in connection with what they style terrorist appointments. Dupont de Nemours likewise takes upon himself to censure the conduct of the Directorate ever since its installation; he charges it with having favored the Jacobins; advises it to make a total change of front, rally to the decent folk, as well as to good writers and incorruptible journalists such as he, Dupont de Nemours, editor-in-chief of *L'Historien*, who, as he is not making his expenses, has begged "encouragement" of the Directorate. After having patiently suffered these gentlemen to lecture the Directorate to their hearts' content, Rewbell recalls them to the propriety they have forgotten and to the order of the day, which is the finance question, upon which they have not touched. I had been informed from several quarters of what was taking place at this moment. The deputies had previously told their friends of their intended affront, and had even boasted that they would insult us in our own

house. It would have mattered little had this been merely an unpremeditated gasconade; but we were warned of the confessed design of these gentlemen of paralyzing the proposed reforms of the Government by denying it the necessary means wherewith to pursue its course, and thus placing the Directorate in a predicament over which they would greatly exult; hence it became impossible for me to refrain from expressing my displeasure, when witnessing the sardonic smile accompanying their premeditated speeches. "You thoughtless fellows," I said to them, "were we not in our own house, you should not be allowed to leave it by the door." Believing that I was as able to carry out the implied threat as to utter it, the vituperative deputies at once raised the siege.

Carnot remained silent during this scene; then, as if it had given him fresh cause to again drag in the anarchists, he denounces Thirion and Thuriot, two former members of the National Convention, his colleagues, against whom in their present administrative and judicial functions no specific charge had been brought. There are those who would accuse people of original sin, forgetting that this sin is proper to us all! Carnot, who had thought the opportunity a favorable one to express an ill-natured opinion, discovers his mistake. He is taken to task in lively, not to say bitter, fashion by Rewbell, who is roused to indignation against the deputies provoking all this confusion. He moves the postponement of the motion for the dismissals. Carnot insists at the very least on the dismissal of the commissary in the department of the Sarthe. Letourneur himself opposes this request, and speaks

highly of the commissary. Carnot persists in his demand, remarking, "He is a partisan of Robespierre." I consider myself justified in pointing out that the department of the Sarthe seems to be animated by the Republican spirit, and that its taxes are paid with regularity. I ask that the matter be referred to the Minister of the Interior, with instructions to report. Carnot resigns himself to a report; he thinks to justify himself by remarking that the Directorate must not hesitate "to deliver up Jacobins" if it wishes to conciliate public opinion.

Cochon would like to justify himself in regard to the repeated reproaches he has incurred at our hands for hunting down with special prejudice the patriots he styles Jacobins, while being singularly neglectful in exercising the surveillance the Royalists deserve. He therefore informs us that he has caused to be purchased a *Life* of Louis XVI. from Louvet, who keeps a bookseller's shop in the Palais-Royal; that this *Life* is written in a spirit of accusation against the members of the Convention who sent Louis XVI. to his doom. This is exactly Cochon's case, for he is one of those who voted for death without appeal or delay of execution. Although it would seem that we should make common cause in regard to this personal attack, we think that respect for the liberty of the press must govern our conduct on this occasion. The day of history has dawned for Louis XVI. and his judges, and it is not for us to silence historians. May we retain sufficient control of ourselves to continue acting in so lofty and superior a fashion in face of the passions with which we are assailed!

The discussion on the treaty with Naples is resumed; Carnot has conferred with Prince Pignatelli, who has submitted to him articles to which he can consent. Carnot is favorable to them, and thinks with him that the propositions made by the Directorate are inadmissible. "We must," pursues Carnot, "win over the Councils to our side, and be careful lest they should attack us." Rewbell thinks "there is no longer any Government if those at the helm are afraid," and that it is preferable to go to war with Naples than to endure the arrogant behavior of its kinglet. Personally, I believe that it is difficult to avoid a war with Naples sooner or later, but that in the present position of the Army of Italy, when so many insurrectionary movements are breaking out in certain portions of that country, it is perhaps prudent to dissimulate until such time as the insurgents shall have been subjugated. The discussion is a lengthy one; Carnot is in favor of accepting the propositions of Naples; Rewbell and I are opposed to this being done unless, we say, the Government of Naples repudiates the insult done the ambassador of the French Republic, sets at liberty all Frenchmen imprisoned for their opinions, and restores their possessions to them. These two articles are conceded as regards Frenchmen, but one extending the same mercy to Neapolitans is rejected. We have no right to interfere in the affairs of Naples; but when the sentiments of generous men have been set in motion by our example and at our exhortations, when in his daily proclamations the General-in-Chief calls upon the population to enjoy the blessings of liberty, are we in this case very consistent when denying them the

consolation at least of a sympathy we have called forth, and upon which we have drawn every kind of misfortune?

A correspondence between Mme. Quirini and Venice has been intercepted and sent to Larevellière-Lépeaux. Rewbell is roughly handled in it, greatly to his surprise, for he has often received this lady at his table, and shown her every mark of attention. This trait of ingenuousness is worthy of a man such as Rewbell. He actually considered as serious protestations of frankness and affection, even when coming from Italians. It is besides a trait of altogether *bourgeoise* innocence with Rewbell to believe that a dinner given in a friendly way binds those eating it to gratitude. I have given many dinners during my official career; and when no longer holding any position, I have tried to treat my guests with all due honor, and although several of them may have been objects of utter indifference to me, I ever welcomed them with a show of good-will. How I should have found myself mistaken had I looked forward to their gratitude! It would be expecting too much of friendship to think that all admitted to one's table should be one's friends. Thus, when astonished at the disappointment Mme. Quirini had caused him to feel, Rewbell, it must be admitted, displayed scant knowledge of the usages of society, especially of that portion of it claiming superiority. If, indeed, ingratitude is so natural and common towards those from whom one receives benefits, it is very slight when shown to those to whom one owes only a dinner.

18*th Vendémiaire, Year V.*—The discussion of the treaty with

Naples did not come to a close. Rewbell and I still wish to see embodied in it reparation for the insult done the Republic in the person of its ambassador, and that the indemnity shall stand at twelve millions. Carnot is for peace at any price, and grounds what he says on Bonaparte's opinion. After a lengthy debate, the Directorate resolves to ask for eight millions, agreeing not to make the indemnity a condition of the treaty, but remain content with the oral promise of the ambassador. A few days later the treaty is signed, Carnot and Larevellière acting as intermediaries. The King of Naples is to give eight millions, and a clause is to be added to save the royal self-love, which is styled the "honor" of His Majesty.

Bonaparte writes to us that Willot is fostering the counter-revolution in the South, that he is not carrying out his orders, and that he will be compelled to suspend him if the Directorate does not recall him. The commissary Garreau expresses himself in still stronger terms as to Willot. Rewbell indulges in personal remarks against Carnot; he vows he will not take the law from anybody. Carnot says he is not going to tolerate a military *régime*. Bonaparte's letter is censured; that of Garreau brings on a proposition for Willot's dismissal. I present a means of conciliation: to detach Willot's division from the Army of Italy, and give him a successor. Carnot adopts my views, but thinks it best, in order not to incur Bonaparte's ill-humor, to write to him in the matter; that Letourneur and Barras, especially the latter, might quiet him. It will then be time to execute the proposed measure.

The Directorate, by a majority of four, decides on creating a central committee, whose duty it shall be to look into the claims of citizens capable of filling public offices, subject to the appointment of the Directorate. We believe we have thus discovered the means of avoiding the censure of both parties in the matter of our selections. For we ever bear in mind that we are the Directorate of France in its entirety, and not of one of the parties unfortunately still dividing it. Where is, indeed, the military or civil administration which can dispense with this impartiality?

We learn that the Army of Moreau is, like the interior of France, being worked upon by the extremist parties, and has been subjected to unjust dismissals. The new-comers have been ill chosen. It behooves the Directorate to rise superior to all intrigues, in order to forestall the greatest calamities.

In conformity with the treaty of armistice concluded with the Roman Government, coffers containing funds it had bound itself to supply had been sent, and got as far as Rimini. We are informed that the Pope has ordered them to be conveyed back to Rome. This is the result of the consideration repeatedly invoked on behalf of a power unfaithful to its engagements. Rewbell and I declare that if the conditions are not executed we shall not admit the existence of any treaty with the Pope.

20th Vendémiaire, Year V.— The Minister of Police has been instructed to hurry the decisions of the military council which is sentencing the individuals arrested at the camp of Grenelle. The executions are over, but we are informed of a circumstance connected with the last one, which took place on the 14th of this month—a circumstance one cannot learn without shuddering with horror. One of the condemned men, by name Gagnant, Drouet's secretary, had managed to escape from the fatal tumbrel as it was passing by the Théâtre Italien. He had succeeded in seeking refuge in a neighboring house, that of his brother, a saddler, concealing himself behind some carriage standing in a shed. The soldiers of the escort had given chase, found him, struck him with their sabres, brought him back, and tossed him all covered with blood into the tumbrel. The poor wretch had nevertheless continued singing,

> Mourir pour la patrie,
> C'est le sort le plus doux, le plus digne d'envie,

and then had been shot. I protested with all the indignation I was capable of against this scene of ferocity, when Cochon, to whom no denunciations come amiss, and who would like to pay me court

by offering me a dish of his cooking, draws from his pocket a report wherein it is stated that one Piquet the younger, claiming noble birth, is everywhere boasting of having several times discharged his carabine at Barras and killed several terrorists on the 13th Vendémiaire, and declares that the said Barras shall soon perish by his hand. I ironically ask of the Minister, "Well then, citizen Cochon, what does it prove?" He was expecting more gratitude on my part.

The Directorate has felt the necessity of a vigorous law against the importation of English merchandise. A message is drawn up with that object in view. Carnot asks to examine it in order to make a few modifications. Several days afterwards Rewbell and I ask for the message. Carnot opposes its being sent; he believes he is cognizant of the opinion of the Councils, one unfavorable to it. The Directorate insists; several days roll by; the message is at last returned to us, once more discussed, and adopted. Rewbell is to put it in proper shape.

The indefatigable and inexhaustible Minister of Police still has in his bag many documents that can again and again be pulled out of it in denunciation of the anarchists. He comes to us panting, and announces that matters will definitively come to a head on the 25th; that Drouet has returned to Paris to enlist supporters, and that Robert Lindet is still at the head of the agitators.

No one has known Robert Lindet more intimately than Carnot, his former colleague and collaborateur in the Committee of Public Safety. He is one of the most inoffensive of men, one most devoted to study; he might with good show of reason have been considered a stranger in politics, even when a member of the Committee of Public Safety.

How can Carnot sit and listen to his being accused in this fashion in his absence, when he ought to be the first to guarantee his innocence?

Is it possible for us to indulge in the hope that we may enjoy a moment's rest after all these crises wherein the exercise of arbitrary power, which one pretends is necessary to cope with them, seems to postpone from day to day the establishment of legal order? Although the execution of the men condemned in the Grenelle affair is a thing of the past, an attempt is made to discover that it has a sequel, and this sequel, called by Cochon "the tail," consists in statements made by the doomed men implicating several citizens who are freely walking the streets of Paris. Justice has so far not found time to lay her hands on them. Would it not be the time now to arrest them, in order to maintain a salutary terror? Incensed at such a proposition, I oppose with all my strength a measure which would place on trial individuals who were not arrested in the very deed at Grenelle. This time I am fortunate enough to have Carnot agree with me; he thinks that such a stretching of the law might become most dangerous, and compromise a number of citizens altogether foreign to the affair. Cochon retires without having been able to secure consent to this arbitrary conduct, which would have been put to such good use by him, not only to foment terror, but to enjoy its effects.

General Kléber having declined the chief command at the time of Jourdan's retreat, the Directorate, which could have made so fine a selection from among the brilliant divisional commanders of that army, had yielded to the intrigues of Beurnonville,

who claimed seniority and the command of an army on active service. He was given that of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, thus affording him an excellent opportunity for displaying his mediocrity and exposing his characteristic nullity to the view of the most able generals. He quickly revealed his incapacity, and so we have just recalled him from the army which should never have been intrusted to him. I had previously recommended that the command be given to Kléber or Bernadotte; the former is appointed.

In the course of a debate on the treaty with Portugal, I propose that we should require the cession of the left bank of the Amazon, together with the trading-posts on that bank, and its free navigation. Larevellière-Lépeaux and Carnot support me with what they call a powerful consideration, to wit, that these vast and fertile lands might be made available for the carrying out of a measure necessary in a free government—transportation. A consideration of such a nature, which I certainly did not expect to see spring up from my proposition, induces me to withdraw my motion, or at any rate to postpone it.

On the 16th Vendémiaire, Year V., Moreau writes that two engagements took place on the 9th and 11th. In the first he was attacked by General Latour, but succeeded in retaining all his positions. On the 11th he resumed the offensive all along his line, winning a complete victory; 5000 prisoners, cannon, and flags have been captured from the enemy, whom he has pursued and routed.

26th, 27th, and 28th Vendémiaire, Year V.—Carnot has recovered his equanimity of temper on learning of the successes on the Rhine, but the

rigidity which he is truly justified in bringing into the administration of war is as tinged with acrimony in its expression as are his political sentiments. Seeming to derive a special enjoyment in denouncing those persons who may in some way be connected with me, he avers that General Dummy, Inspector of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, is charged with theft, and should be tried by court-martial. The Directorate orders it shall be so done. I point out that Dummy, although a connection of mine, was never recommended by me; that I was too well convinced of his incapacity, and that it is he, Carnot, who appointed him inspector-general in spite of me.

Letters intercepted by the Minister of Police, and laid by him before the Directorate, completely unmask the attempts of the Royalists and their failures in the department of the Lozère. The Minister is instructed to send an agent in order to ascertain the true state of affairs, previous to which the Directorate declines adopting any course.

According to reports from Italy, the Pope has just appealed to the coalesced Powers, urging upon them to exterminate the French. The same request is addressed to the peoples of his dominions and of Italy, and to the bishops and clergy.

30*th Vendémiaire, Year V.*—Although the attention of the Directorate is engaged with most important matters, it is daily and at every moment interrupted by the arrival of the Minister Cochon; he takes up all our time with reports, bearing perhaps the imprint of genuine fright, but truly unworthy of being laid before magistrates having any respect for themselves. To-day Cochon comes and reads us a note signed "Bertrand," an officer of gendarmes imprisoned in the Temple; the note had been enclosed in a loaf of bread sent to Dumesnil, adjutant at the

Invalides. Cochon would like to see Dumesnil and all those mentioned in the note brought before a court-martial. Bertrand has already been acquitted. This seems to me sufficient reason for neither him nor Dumesnil *et al.* to be again put on trial. I will never suffer that any individual, whatever his political stripe, shall again fall into the hands of the law for deeds of which he has been acquitted. Two members of the Directorate consent to their being turned over to the ordinary tribunals; Carnot and I oppose this likewise. It is decided to expel them from Paris; this too would be an arbitrary act, as it is contrary to law. Besides, I protest most strongly against the prolonged existence of the military tribunal, whose functions should now cease. If, on the one hand, the temporary erection of these terrible *prévôtal*[1] organizations may have been justified by an unfortunate occurrence, they must cease to exist after dealing with it. Carnot is of my opinion; he agrees that there must be an end of these means, which he acknowledges to be revolutionary. He has received particulars about the recent executions in connection with the Grenelle affair. Respectable heads of families have been included in them, and their death, suffered with great courage, has profoundly touched the spectators, who were on the point of rescuing them. It will not do to let public pity be stirred up to such a degree. The Minister Cochon himself seems to experience a tardy feeling of humanity. He will do well to act on it in the future.

[1] The *prévôtal* tribunals were specially created for the purpose of taking cognizance of crimes against the security of the State. Although the *cours prévotales* were actually created in 1815 only, the tribunal established in the Grenelle affair really comes under this denomination.—Translator's note.

CHAPTER XVII

The *bureau central* of Lyons denounces representatives—Important constitutional question—Audacity of certain journalists—Their supplies cut off—Discussion in the Directorate concerning the military commission—Cochon's versatility—Letourneur's violent sally—Deplorable scenes in the Directorate—England's negotiations with the Government—Lord Malmesbury—Singular connection between the ambassadors from London and the members of the Directorate—Letourneur's ridiculous conduct on this occasion—Difficulties in the way of the conferences—General Dugua—Arrest of Vendeans disapproved of by the Councils—General Dumesnil—Picot's escape—Alarmist report of the Minister Cochon—Jourdan *Coupe-Tête* and the Marquis de Saint-Huruges—The Minister's unpardonable blunder—Resurrected dead—Another report from Cochon—A mysterious dinner—General Brune, Talleyrand, Maret, Semonville, and Desrenaudes—A begging trio—Talleyrand's piquant *mots* on Maret—Maret's letter in relation to his embassy to Naples—His genuflections—Rewbell's opinion of the trio—Message in regard to the journalists—Legarde's partiality—*Le Rédacteur* suppressed—Death of the King of Sardinia—His successor—Progress of our armies—Consequences of our reverses on the Rhine—Carnot's impassibility—His opinion as to the union of Belgium with France—Rewbell expresses himself strongly against the Government's conduct towards defeated generals—The two Carnots denounced—Attention paid to the denunciations by the Directorate—Fréron elected at San Domingo—Carnot and Letourneur displeased—Arrival of Admiral Richeri—Distress of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—The Austrian general Kray—Measure proposed by him and adopted by the Directorate—Reception of Parma's envoy—Carnot's proposition in regard to Austria—Animated discussion it leads to—A happy medium—Carnot obstinate; Rewbell's sharp rejoinder—Tallien, Fréron, Sieyès, and Louvet denounced—Letourneur's motive for including Lamarque in the denunciation—Capture of the Dutch squadron at Saldam—Letter to the

Emperor of Austria—General Clarke—His mission—Organization of the staff of the Directorial Guard—Adjutant-General Scherlock rejected—Alarming news as to the spirit animating the Bordelais and the *émigrés*—Impending retirement of a member of the Directorate—Drawing lots—Pecuniary agreement in regard to the outgoing Director—Lack of confidence of the armies in the commissaries of the Directorate—Bonaparte's ruse to elude their authority—Superiority affected by him over Kellermann—The Army of the Alps reduced to three battalions—Fearful results arising from tolerating gambling-houses—Immense powers conferred upon Bonaparte; my opinion and Rewbell's—The treaty with Naples ratified—Letter from the king—Difficulty experienced in answering it—*Status quo* in regard to Rome—Selection of a commissary for Corsica—Saliceti and Miot—*Saint Jérôme*—Mme. de Bourbon pleads for herself and for the saint—The painter David—The Domenichino and the Raphael.

1st Brumaire, Year V.—Just as nothing is so easy and so prompt as the accession of a despotic government, so is there nothing more difficult than the establishment of a constitutional one. The former, rising superior to all law and morality, knows no obstacle; the latter, submissive to the legal order whose product and representative it is, finds itself, by the mere fact, disarmed, and deprived of all the ready measures of defence necessary to preserve its own existence. So far from being able to use these means against its foes, it is, on the contrary, compelled to protect the use made of them against itself. The laws of which it is the strict executor afford every weapon to the attacking party; as the laws are not preventive, but merely repressive, the constitutional government which is bound by them is reduced, so to speak, to stand supporting arms until the crime which is about to inflict death upon it is consummated.

This is naturally the position of the Directorate

since its installation. The Royalists have cleverly taken advantage of it by coming forward not only as the *protégés* of the laws, but as their defenders. The signal given by them in the bosom of the Legislature finds an unfortunate echo in various parts of France.

The *bureau central* of Lyons announces that representatives who are on holiday at home are fomenting and encouraging royalism's ventures, and paralyzing measures which might secure order. Is the inviolability attached to deputies to be allowed to extend beyond the precincts of the Legislature, and cover personal acts outside of their mandate? I consider that the question is of sufficient importance to form the subject of a message. Carnot denies the assertions of the *bureau central*, producing a letter from Kellermann, wherein this general, who two years ago thundered so energetically against Lyons, now protests that this city is animated by an excellent spirit. He gives a flat denial to all that may have been written to the Directorate in regard to disturbances alleged to have been organized by the Royalists. Rewbell proclaims that the generals exceed their powers when they paralyze the repressive measures of the Government in favor of one party or the other. They should be recalled to the sense of their military duties. Just at present newspapers in the pay of the Government are allowing themselves to indulge in infamous calumnies against the Republicans, the deputies, some of the Ministers, and even the Directorate, which pays them. Are we to countenance such abuse by our silence, and in addition give more money to encourage the calumniators? The Directorate decides that it will cease paying journalists.

After all that has taken place previously, and our formal desire that the military commission should bring its sittings to an end, it would hardly be thought that it is still in existence. The Minis-
2d Brumaire, Year V. ter of Police reports that the commission having been unwilling to try all the accused in one batch, it has been unable to end its labors. Carnot is of the opinion that, following

upon the executions which have already afforded a painful spectacle to the capital, it would be dangerous to pronounce further sentences of death. I indorse Carnot, recalling the fact that the military commission which sat in Prairial created an interest in the victims by prolonging its rigors. The victims were then, as in the present instance, simple-minded men, patriots led astray. It is time to put an end to these bloody enactments. Cochon himself disapproves of them, and states that the commission, and particularly its *rapporteur* (chairman), have alleged that he had sought to influence them and save the guilty, on his laying his opinion before them. He adds that the accused of Grenelle did not give their real names, and refuse to give them even now; that they are still reckoning on the anarchists, while the Royalists are likewise bestirring themselves; that together they are a menace to public order. By adducing these new facts, he seems to retract everything he said a while ago in a gentler strain. Letourneur jumps up more excited than ever on hearing this last speech of Cochon's. He summons Cochon to inform him of the slightest disturbance; he will at once place himself at the head of the troops, and charge the anarchists with fixed bayonets; he wants to see the end of them, and kill them all off. Is not what is happening in the Directorate deplorable? This is how scenes which we daily hope to see a thing of the past are constantly being renewed from the same causes, with the same expressions and the same utterances. France expects nobler results from the authority it has invested with its higher administration.

3d Brumaire, Year V.

The Legislature is still discussing the repeal of the law of Brumaire. Carnot returns to his treaty with the Pope, which he would like to see become a reality. He then speaks to us of the application England is at present making to the Government. Lord Malmesbury has arrived in Paris with the title of Minister, in order to negotiate with France for peace. Carnot points out that the counsellors composing the embassy are five. "That is a singular and extraordinary thing," exclaims Letourneur; "do they by any chance intend to call us out?" "In that case," replies Rewbell, "leave the most dangerous one to me." This buffoonery comes to a close before reaching me. As a rule diplomats no more consider themselves obliged to display courage than uprightness.

5th, 6th, and 7th Brumaire, Year V.—In order to silence the various versions spread about the negotiations entered into between Charles Lacroix and the English envoy, the Directorate enacts that each and every conference shall be printed verbatim. England seeks to drag out matters to an interminable length, as she cannot treat without her allies. As the stay of the English embassy in Paris may be attended by some danger, it is proposed to designate a neutral town, or a town in France at some distance from Paris and in the North, where the conferences would henceforth take place. No decision is reached.

General Dugua has arrested some Chouans who had come to Caen and Rouen to recruit adherents. A lengthy debate takes place in this connection; deputies belonging to the Vendean party demand Dugua's dismissal and the setting at liberty of their partisans; they succeed in getting Dugua sent to the Army of Italy; his place is filled by one Dumesnil, reputed to be a very bad officer. Picot, Frotté's adjutant general, has just escaped.

The Minister Cochon reads us a report, the principal feature of which had been referred by the Minister of the Interior to the surveillance of the police, wherein it is said: "While the terrorists, in order to divert attention from themselves, claim to discover Royalists in every direction, their leaders have summoned from the departments the most horrible emissaries, whose revolutionary faces stamp

them for what they are; among others Jourdan *Coupe-Tête*, who, boldly and carrying high his head, is walking through the streets of Paris with the Marquis de Saint-Huruges." The Minister of the Interior had written on the report: "Watch all this, and report to me." Will it be credited that the Minister of Police read this report with his usual volubility and customary conviction, and that he was on the point of deducing therefrom all the ordinary consequences which would result from the presence in Paris of the terrorist power? I considered it my duty not to allow him to plunge any deeper in the mire, so I said to him contemptuously: "Has it come to this that a Minister of Police must be taught how little weight his words and reports are liable to carry, when I tell you all that the individual Jourdan, whose bold promenade through Paris he relates with such seriousness, was guillotined eighteen months ago? I am not quite as certain about the death of the Marquis de Saint-Huruges, probably also resurrected for the purpose of making him promenade with the late Jourdan. You can judge of the truth of the report by its so carefully imagined main feature." One may surmise the thunderstruck looks of the Directors, who had been listening to Cochon with complacency, and who now saw themselves robbed of so clumsy a pretext for defaming the revolutionaries. Will this hoax, which should make them blush, prevent them any the less from being again guilty of the same offence?

The Minister Cochon, whose zeal never slackens, informs us that General Brune, Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, his former vicar Desrenaudes, Maret, and Semonville have mysteriously met at a dinner. The

Minister Cochon, who knows everything, has learned what took place during the repast. The severity shown to the *émigrés* has been adversely commented upon. Brune, who in the camp of Grenelle was under the orders of Foissac-Latour when the latter opposed the anarchists, and who knows, as does the abbé Desrenaudes, what he is talking about, says that there are in France men more dangerous than the *émigrés*. He thereby meant the Jacobins, although not naming anybody; this is in accordance with the policy of this general, one of the shrewdest men of the Revolution under plain and straightforward appearance. Talleyrand alone has pronounced himself against the *émigrés*, saying again and again that they could not be too closely watched, and that examples should be made of them. Maret and Semonville are alleged to have spoken in the same strain as Talleyrand. These three men, who were employed by the provisional executive council after the events of the 10th of August, think that their having held this appointment entitles them to the recognition of the nation, and to indemnities and a constant stream of offices at the hands of all successive governments. All of them have made, and cause to be made, requests to me and my colleagues with that object in view, thereby revealing all their pretensions. They have even approached the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Charles de (*sic*) Lacroix.[1] He has been unable to grant to them what depends not of him but of the Directorate and the Legislature only. They have considered his lack of power a personal refusal, and have vowed him a substantial hatred. The trio

[1] Barras has both Lacroix and de Lacroix; others, Delacroix.—Translator's note.

have joined in speaking ill of the Minister, and in seeking to give him the reputation of being a silly man. This is the method which Talleyrand will adopt against Maret when, fearful of falling into disgrace owing to the latter being in favor with Napoleon, he will make for him a reputation, and, so to speak, a trousseau of unparalleled stupidity, by repeatedly saying in his drawing-room and in those of his old dames (towards the end of 1813): "Stupid as Maret, thick-headed as Bassano"; and he will add, when speaking of the retreat from Russia: "The army has not lost its *matériel:* Maret is back."

Carnot has repeatedly listened, and still listens, to insinuations against Lacroix having their source in the utterances of individuals such as these. M. Maret in particular, believing apparently at this early date in the hereditary legitimateness of public posts, just as later he will believe in the Imperial legitimateness, considers himself dispossessed by the violence and injustice of the Minister because he is not in possession of the Naples embassy. He wishes the matter explained, and prefers his request for such explanation in an all but threatening letter to the Minister. This is perhaps the first time that this political *Philinte*[1] takes such a liberty. He thinks he is toning down the acrimonious feeling it reveals towards the Directorate by increased protests and offers of devotedness ever couched in the most humble and respectful form. Towards me there is no end of polite attentions and coquetries: "The perfect kindliness and infinite goodness with which the citizen

[1] *Philinte*, a character in Molière's *Misanthrope* who shows himself indulgent towards the weaknesses of others, as opposed to *Alceste*, who is pitiless.—Translator's note.

Barras has received us seem to justify us in again calling his attention to our case." If I would only recommend M. Maret to one of the Ministers, the Minister of Finance, for instance, how happy and grateful he would be. How grateful is he not already! But to Rewbell these diplomatic genuflections are as hateful as they are disgusting, and when he hears the names of Talleyrand, Maret, and Semonville mentioned, he is wont to exclaim: "They are three wretched intriguers and consummate liars. Were they all pounded together in one mortar, not an atom of truth would be extracted from them. As a general rule, I do not place any great faith in police reports, but there is nothing so bad but what I can believe Talleyrand, Maret, and Semonville, Semonville, Maret, and Talleyrand capable of it."

The secretary Lagarde submits the draft of a message in regard to journalists; he displays a singular prejudice against those who are patriots, while protecting and favoring those of the Royalist stripe. Rewbell and I object to the form of the message; we call for the dismissal of the editor and of the printer of *Le Rédacteur*, until now an official newspaper; also that after changing its name, the paper which the Directorate shall have selected shall no longer be left in the hands of men who betray our institutions.

We hear of the death of the King of Sardinia. His successor bears the reputation of ever having been hostile to the French, who should know that we have never hoped to wrest peace from the kings who are at war with us except by the force of our arms.

8th Brumaire, Year V.—I submit some serious observations to the Directorate on the position of our armies. Austria is sending into the Tyrol large masses of troops which may overwhelm our Army of Italy. It is urgent to reinforce it with all the available troops at home, and even to detach a few corps from the Army of the Rhine, which in my opinion should remain on the defensive. It is also necessary to raise an extraordinary levy. If these measures are not taken promptly, I fear that the

enemy will reap successes during the coming spring, and perhaps invade our territory.

9th Brumaire, Year V.—Letters received from our armies reveal the fact that those of the Rhine are glad to have the river between them and the enemy. Carnot believes that this state of things will have a fatal influence on the peace with Austria. Will that Power not demand the restitution of Belgium? Carnot speaks of such a possibility in the most natural tone, and as if there were no obstacles in its way. It is true that in the days of the Committee of Public Safety, and on the occasion of the debate which took place in the National Convention, Carnot was never in favor of Belgium becoming united to France; but now that the interest of all has pronounced against his opinion, and the two countries have mutually so much to be grateful for, how can he do otherwise than let all his hopes and efforts tend to maintain the fruits of victory? I point out to Carnot that such a concession would be the overthrowing of our fundamental law. Carnot maintains that the union of Belgium with France is not an article of our Constitution. Rewbell proves to him that he is mistaken, and pities Carnot for showing a disposition to give way under reverses; a member of the Government should reassure patriotic deputies instead of instilling them with fears. The Italian deputies are very displeased with the proposition made to them that they shall add an *arrondissement* (a slice of territory) to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. Can it be possible that there are those who would not only bow to defeats, but pray for them,

in order to force us to a shameful peace? Rewbell argues that the plan of campaign carried out on the Rhine was bound to result in disaster; that a fatal influence emanates from the War and Topographical Departments; that, far from the behavior of the generals who have retreated, however honorable their retreat, being approved of, they should be punished, just as it had been Carnot's wont to do when in his full vigor in the Committee of Public Safety. The Directorate receives from the two chiefs of police, trustworthy men, a denunciation against Carnot and his brother. According to this denunciation, the origin of the conspiracy of Drouet and his accomplices is to be laid to the door of the two brothers, and yet they are the very men who took the most active steps to have them arrested. The Directorate treats these denunciations with the contempt Carnot should have shown to those previously made against his colleagues. Carnot is moreover accused of spending his time at the Topographical Department with drawing up lists of dismissal of patriot officers, who are classed as anarchists. The Directorate, which is well aware of the reprehensible feature of Carnot's character, does not see fit to compromise him by listening to accusations coming from the outside. Carnot may herein find another example of the course colleagues who respect themselves should follow towards one another.

18th and 19th Brumaire, Year V.—Truguet, the Minister of Marine, brings the news, received by him from San Domingo, of Fréron's official election to the Legislature; he is interpellated in regard to who has influenced this selection. The question surprises him: 'tis not the Minister but the electors who select dep-

uties; it is none the less his duty, as also that of the Minister of the Interior, to report on colonial elections. Carnot and Letourneur would naïvely like none to be deputies except those to their liking. This is probably to the taste of many governments; I point out to my colleagues that the matter does not concern them. We are still in the infancy of constitutional government, and there can be no question that if the rights of the people are to be respected, the electoral right is the most sacred of all, because it is the deeply rooted principle of all the others.

20th Brumaire, Year V.—Admiral Richeri has arrived at Rochefort. An adjutant-general from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse comes to inform the Directorate that this army lacks provisions and the most indispensable equipments. The Austrian general Kray has offered to evacuate the right bank for the advantage and tranquillity of the two armies. The Directorate authorizes the same conventions in the case of the Army of the Rhine.

The envoy from Parma is admitted, and presents his credentials.

22d Brumaire, Year V.—Carnot, speaking with solemnity and as if in the name of the whole Government, informs the Minister of Foreign Affairs that the Directorate is about to send an ambassador to Vienna to propose peace, after previously concluding an armistice. Astonished at this proposition, pronounced as if it were a settled matter, I inquire whether such a decision has been come to during my absence. Carnot replies that such is his opinion, shared, he believes, by his colleagues. Letourneur acknowledges that it is likewise his, and it ought therefore to be adopted, but that the matter is open to debate. So humble and sudden an overture on our part seems to me unseasonable at a time when the English envoy is about to receive powers from Austria to treat. Our taking such a step would add to the discouragement of the armies, and reveal weakness on our part to our enemies. Rewbell remarks that it would at one and the same time alienate all the German sovereigns who have shown a sincere desire to contract an alliance with us; that he will never submit to such a course as the one proposed. Larevellière considers it truly dangerous to make such abrupt overtures to Austria. "One might," he says, "address directly to Prince Charles the reply to be made to General Kray, and thus ask for a general armistice." Rewbell indorses Larevellière, whose views are put to a vote and unani-

mously adopted. Carnot persists in sending an envoy to Vienna and improving the opportunity to make overtures for peace as demanded, according to him, by public opinion. Rewbell interrupts him. "The opinion you refer to," he exclaims, "and to which you would have us bow above all things, is also in favor of the recall of the Bourbons; is it one that should influence men who, like you, sentenced Louis XVI. to death and abolished royalty?" Carnot remains obstinate, but the debate is closed.

A police report of a new kind is made to us; it states that Tallien, Fréron, Sieyès, and Louvet reveal themselves as protectors of the anarchists; Letourneur adds to the report that Lamarque should be included in it, because he opposes, in the Council of Five Hundred, the re-establishment of the barriers and *octrois* (town dues), which constitute an indispensable revenue for the State.

The Dutch squadron has been captured at Saldam, where it lay at anchor pending the arrival of the French division which was to have joined it there, but which was still at Brest at that time.

23d and 24th Brumaire, Year V.—Carnot's motion, as amended by Larevellière, having been adopted, the Minister of Foreign Affairs lays before us the draft of the letter to be sent to Prince Charles, proposing an armistice and peace. Carnot submits that General Clarke should be intrusted with this mission. It is pointed out that Clarke is a foreigner; he is selected, notwithstanding the objection made.

The Directorate is still kept in the same state of uneasiness in regard to the men who fought for liberty in Vendémiaire. Among the officers who appear on the list of organization of the staff of the Directorate's Guard is the name of Adjutant-General Scherlock. He is rejected for the reason that his behavior in Vendémiaire constituted his testimonial. The opposite reason prevents me from voting for this organization. I know of no better means of sustaining a revolution than to employ in its defence those who have made it.

Letters from Bordeaux give sad news as to the spirit animating that city and the welcome granted to the enemies of the Republic. A letter from the Calvados sets forth the rapid strides made by the Chouans; information received from Provence is likewise to the effect that royalism is acquiring renewed strength.

The reinforcements which should by this time have reached the armies have not yet been despatched. The *émigrés*, instead of leaving French territory, are boldly pouring in. The Directorate censures its Ministers for their negligence, and orders each one to report on what concerns him in the matter.

Rewbell informs me that the time is approaching for one of the members of the Directorate to retire; he is of the opinion that lots should be drawn on the day before the appointment of his successor to decide which one it shall be. The objection is raised that the adoption of such a system might lead people to suppose that we intend perpetuating ourselves in office. In order that drawing by lots should seem, as it is our desire, to show a complete independence, it should take place at the very time the successor is being appointed by the Legislature. Rewbell believes that this method is liable to afford some mortification to the retiring member.

This is the place to refute in plain terms a calumny spread against the Directorate as to the system by which one of its members retires. It has been stated that this operation was the effect of a threat of those desirous of remaining, or the price of a ransom of several millions distributed among those who should retire. First and foremost I will make known the actual and only agreement unanimously entered into by the five members. We had thought it proper that although a retiring member might be possessed of sufficient means to put him beyond the reach of need, we should secure him from such a contingency, humiliating to the chief magistrates of the Republic. Thus each of the remaining members was to supply a sum of ten thousand francs, so that the retiring one should receive a bonus of

forty thousand francs. This convention was signed by us in quintuplicate in the course of the second month of our installation. The proposition had originated with Carnot himself, and no one had ever called his delicacy into question. Everything that has been said over and above or in contradiction to the convention I have just laid before the reader is a notorious calumny, like so many others; and whatever the dissensions casting trouble among us either now or in the future, we owe one another the reciprocal justice of recognizing that we were ever in accord as to the principles of morality and honor which seemed to us should be the distinguishing characteristics of the chief magistrates of the Republic.

The civil agents, who have neither a military character nor wear the military uniform, enjoy but little consideration at the hands of the armies. Their office being, moreover, one entirely of surveillance, they have to run counter to so many interests which, in the tumult of war, claim a right to total impunity. They are compelled to endure the ill-natured remarks of both officers and men, as both united in standing out against surveillance. They are in the habit of calling a *pékin*[1] any representative of the civil power who vexes them. It is principally for these reasons that the commissaries which the Directorate had attached to the armies have been unable to win the good-will of either generals or soldiers, more especially so in the case of the Army of Italy. Bonaparte, who more than any other is impatient of any obedience that is in the way of his domineering intentions, has adopted a resolute means for getting away from the civil authority attached by us to him. Under the pretext of interest-

[1] The term *pékin*, used even nowadays by French soldiers when speaking of a civilian, has been defined by Talleyrand as follows: "We call *pékin* all that is not military, just as we style *militaire* everything that is not civilian." The word is probably a form of the word *péchin*, which in the South of France corresponds to *petit*. In bygone days soldiers looked upon the *bourgeois* as people of *little* account.—Translator's note.

ing to a greater extent the Italians in a union with us by admitting them to governmental functions, he has increased the powers of the Lombard Commission of Milan by making it subject to no other control than the approval of the General-in-Chief. Bonaparte would no more than the other military commanders venture to ignore or impugn the authority of the Directorate did he believe it united; but all are aware that dissension is rife in our midst, and thus do the intestine quarrels of the Directorate preserve its authority, and destroy it by scattering it!

Bonaparte, whose victories seem to increase his haughty ambition, has required General Kellermann to despatch to the Army of Italy a portion of the troops still remaining under his orders. Kellermann complains of a requisition, made as coming from a superior, from one merely his equal in rank. Thus the Commander of the Army of the Alps would be left with three battalions, but still retain an expensive staff, now of no further use whatever. I renew my motion that the staff be suppressed. Carnot wishes the matter postponed.

I lay before the Directorate a list of numerous suicides caused by losses at the public gambling-houses; whole families in mourning and reduced to poverty denounce these swindlers' dens, which have until now fed with their ill-gotten gains a crowd of rogues and women of easy virtue. The information supplied by the police shows also that young men, after losing money intrusted to their honor, have robbed people on the street, in the attempt to make good the sums lost by them. I ask that these homicidal gambling-houses and hells be closed. All the members of the Directorate agree with me, but no decision is taken.

Immediately following upon the ratification of the treaty with Naples, Bonaparte is to take possession of Rome, abolish the temporal power of the Pope, place it in the hands of the people, and transmit to France a portion of the riches and works of art which the city contains. Rewbell and I would like to see these great measures intrusted to Bonaparte regulated by an enactment determining the extent of his powers. We are not understood, and so unlimited power is left to the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy.

25th and 26th Brumaire, Year V.—Naples has ratified the treaty. The king, in a private letter, displays a lively interest in Rome. A debate ensues as to the reply to be sent. Carnot wishes to insert in it something favorable to the Pope; I oppose

this, and point out that if it is sought to re-establish the armistice, the Government of Rome must at the very least be compelled to fulfil its chief conditions, and that the Pope should previously disavow the briefs and circulars he has hurled at the French. Carnot rejects my proposal, while Rewbell and Larevellière indorse it. A most lengthy discussion follows. Meanwhile everything is once more postponed, and nothing is to be done in regard to Rome for the time being; an invisible hand is protecting that government, which is so little worthy of being defended, and still less defended by itself.

The Corsican Saliceti has been delegated a commissary to Corsica. He is essentially a man animated by party spirit, who, in lieu of doing his best to bring about a general reconciliation, is capable of putting swords in the hands of all parties. Bonaparte should at least be written to in the matter, and told that it has been thought advisable to send another commissary in Saliceti's place. I propose the citizen Miot. What would not be the responsibility of the Directorate were Corsica once more stirred up by a firebrand? The Directorate takes Miot.

Carnot proposes the return to the Duke of Parma of the *Saint Jérôme*, by Domenichino, already placed in our museum. This restitution is prayed for by Mme. de Bourbon, who, somewhat forgetful of the law passed against her, has, under the protection of the saint, called on Carnot and myself. I of course received her with the consideration due her sex and fate, but Saint Jérôme played the part of a useful introducer, giving her, as he did, the opportunity of pleading on her own behalf. The Directorate does not reach any decision. Lovers of oil-paintings may still go to the Louvre to see Domenichino's masterpiece, which many good judges of Italy and of France, and David in particular, consider superior to the *Transfiguration* of Raphael.

CHAPTER XVIII

Complaints of Bonaparte regarding the position of the Army of Italy—Measures taken in this matter by the Directorate—The administration of the Somme accused of aristocratic proclivities —Carnot defends it—Carnot alarmed—Reports of Police interference—General Clarke's observations upon the position of Lyons—Carnot's anger—Letourneur's comment upon the Council of Five Hundred—The Directorate favors Drouet's escape—Calumnies set on foot by this circumstance—Vilain XIV.—Willot's murmurs—Quinette and Jean Debry denounced—The deputy Dumas's remark upon Kellermann and Bonaparte—Fresh successes of the latter—Sharp letter to Willot—Tort de la Sonde —Despatches from Holland—Bonaparte's new demands—The Directorate grants them—Generosity of Hoche—General listlessness—The deputy Cavaignac—Carnot wishes to restore Belgium —The Dumas and Lacuée families—A letter from Murat—Who dictated it—Discussion about forage—Pantini, Lacuée, Dumas, Doumerc—Canclaux sent to Naples—A remark of Carnot's—Severity of the Finance Commission—Our foreign affairs—Bad administration of Faypoult—Anniversary of January 21—The Minister of the Interior and Belgium—Carnot's fears—Disquieting news of the condition of the armies—A secret committee—Army contractors—Cousin Jacques and *Nanette*—Who "Cousin Jacques" is—Carnot's literary works—Carnot attacks Louvet—The processions—State of Lyons—The deputy Vitet—General Canuel accused—Defended by Carnot—Death of Catherine—Peace overtures—Organization of Italy—My ideas about that country—Feeling in Switzerland—The English Ambassador Malmesbury—Proposals to the detriment of France—How received by the Directory—Carnot seems to revert to his former principles—Plan of a royalist conspiracy—The abbé Louis—The deputy Madier—Popular movement at Leipzig—The Adjutant-General Minette and the Prince de Conti—Monseigneur—Dismissal of Beurnonville—Moreau replaces him—The municipality of Arles—Carnot's sally against the army of Sambre-et-Meuse—

Glorious conduct of that army—The deputy Lebrun—His royalism—Politely treated by the Directory—Principles and facts—Conduct of Clarke in his mission to Italy—His servility to Bonaparte—Calumnies spread by him against Augereau, Masséna, and Lannes—Complaint against Clarke from Italian headquarters—M. Shée—M. Lally-Tollendal at London—Siege of Kehl—Moreau's apprehensions—The Directorate reassures him—A dinner at Carnot's—Treilhard and Berlier—Excesses in the South—Negotiations broken off with Sardinia—Priests' letters—The priest Proyard and the Prince of Hohenlohe—Sandos, the Prussian ambassador—M. Cognon and M. Gérard—The deputy Henri Larivière—Royalist watchword—France "big with a king"—Message against the royalists—Lively discussion—How it ends.

1st, 2d, and 3d Frimaire, Year V.—Bonaparte was never the man to do much with small means. He has never been jealous for that economizing of humanity which has been at once the great art of war and the glory of the greatest generals. He neither loved nor valued sufficiently the human race to husband it. He is beginning that long and destructive career which is to cost more blood than has been shed through the madness of conquerors of past times. Bonaparte writes to us that the plight of the Army of Italy is frightful; that the enemy has been strongly reinforced; and that of the numbers that have been so long promised only 3000 have reached him. Still, notwithstanding the embarrassment in which the forgetfulness of the Directorate has placed him, he will hold on in order to save what is left of his army. Many of his valiant men have fallen, and those who join him are not fit to face the enemy. Without going into the cause of the evil, I think we ought to busy ourselves about remedying it. I am asking the Directorate to name at once a military commissioner, giving him full powers, so that he may

direct upon Italy the garrisons of the South. This will furnish 20,000 men, which will suffice for further successes. Carnot thinks that a larger army could not be supported in Italy, and that Bonaparte has no right to make these incessant complaints. Above all, he fears the withdrawal from the South of the troops under Willot, by means of which he keeps in check the anarchists of that region. By way of compromise, the Minister of War is instructed to present a plan of ways and means at the next session.

Bitterness is fermenting and increasing in the heart of the Directorate to such an extent that we are not only debating but fighting about the simplest matters, home and foreign. The Directorate, using its right with regard to administration conferred upon it by the Constitution, has deprived the department of the Somme of its powers on account of its aristocratic misdeeds. Carnot desires to reinstate it. "They are," he says, "elected by the people. The coming primary and electoral assemblies will nominate them again, and they will, perhaps, be raised to the legislative body. It is prudent to conciliate them. We should make them our friends in order to oppose them to our foes."

The exasperation of Carnot is excited by many of those about him. They declare that the terrorists wish to poison him. Cochon goes further: he fears a double movement, *i.e.*, of terrorists and Royalists. Willot writes to Carnot against the authorities of the Bouches-du-Rhône, whom he calls "detestable." He accuses others of what might be charged against himself. To be beforehand becomes a sort of mania. "*Au surplus*, Antonelle has been arrested," the Minister of Police goes on to say. There is no imagining what this *au surplus* means, which he appears to give as a useless compensation for

the fact that other victims have escaped him. Carnot and Letourneur propose to send Antonelle to Vendôme. The proposal is adopted *in order to keep ourselves in practice by giving every kind of satisfaction or connections* (*sic*). The same Minister lays before us an intercepted letter, which announces to the emigrants that they as well as the priests will return, because they are protected by a member of the Directorate. The reticent manner with which he seeks to catch the eyes of my colleagues while avoiding mine might be taken as a way of pointing me out as an accomplice of the emigrants.

7th, 8th, and 9th Frimaire, Year V. — Carnot read a letter from General Clarke, written from Lyons. We have not commissioned citizen Clarke to explore the city of Lyons—we simply sent him to Italy; but where a man has a calling for police matters it must needs be that he pursues them wherever he goes. Thus, taking upon him a self-imposed commission, this observing Clarke is careful to note that the town of Lyons is undisturbed; that the feeling of the municipalities is good; but that the staff of the central police office, appointed at Reverchon's suggestion, is bad. Rewbell and I do not see our way to accepting Clarke's opinion off-hand. Carnot loses his temper, and says that almost all the authorities of the Republic are made up of rascals, and that, having regard to the choice of the people, all who hold their posts at the nomination of the Directorate should at once be removed.

Carnot, as to Roman matters, continues to show an interest in favor of the Papal Government. A lively discussion has just taken place at the Council of Five Hundred with reference to the deputy Drouet. Letourneur, having heard Carnot aver that almost all those in office were rascals, makes it his business to emphasize the charge. Well versed in angry speech, he, in his turn, says that more than half of the Council of Five Hundred are a set of rogues. He blames Carnot violently for not having required the deputy Bergoing, who had provided Drouet with an asylum, to give the number of the house that sheltered him. "Bergoing," he said, "must be arrested. I would seize him myself if I came across him." This bluster causes no more pity than anger. Rewbell and I, making light of this mighty man of valor, are sure that if the meeting took place Letourneur would get the worst of it. It seems to us a moral indignity and a want of all human feeling to wish to abuse the

confidence and to violate the hospitality shown by a deputy to his unfortunate colleague. All that Drouet asked was to seek refuge out of the country, because he was mercilessly pursued by powerful enemies. "Must I," I said to myself, "see representatives of the people dragged to the scaffold? And this one, of all others, who has emerged from the Austrian prisons, where he had remained for several years without knowing what was happening in France, is it not excusable if he imagined that he would find the Republican institutions just as he left them in 1793; and if he thought that not so finding them he had a right to ask what had become of them?" I exposed all these facts and reasonings with emotions that overpowered me, and I must acknowledge, to the honor of my colleagues, that they fully shared my feelings.

It is decided that the President shall so arrange this matter with the Minister of Police and the deputy Bergoing that Drouet may find a place of safety without the Directorate being compromised. This decision was certainly no less politic than humane. We have all of us knowingly acted contrary to the law by thus shielding an accused person from the course of justice; but did this conduct on our part deserve the calumnies to which Drouet's escape has exposed us, among them being a special charge against me that in sending him away I had given him a million francs not to reveal my complicity in the recent conspiracies?

War times, above all when they are accompanied by political revolutions, provide men of business with great opportunities of money-making. They represent themselves as army purveyors, but generally they purvey nothing but death. In the front rank of individuals who have distinguished themselves in this capacity, that same *M. Vilain XIV.* has been conspicuous, who is reputed to be one of the greatest landed proprietors of Belgium. Vilain XIV. submits a tender by which he would undertake nothing less than to farm all the taxes of Belgium in payment for provisioning the whole of the armies. This contractor is supported by Carnot, whose probity is unassailable, and who is personally beyond all suspicion, but whose excitable character always inclines him to favor those who are recommended to him by his friends as sharing his opinions. Now, as these purveyors are always of the same mind as those in power to whom they look to grant them their contracts, Carnot would be

likely to yield to M. Vilain XIV., who, he has been assured, takes a right view of things, *i.e.*, thinks with him, Carnot. The Directorate does not consider it ought to undertake such a responsibility; besides, the detail is purely administrative, and belongs to the Ministers. Notwithstanding the deserved personal confidence placed in Carnot, the proposal of Vilain XIV. is referred to the Minister of Finance.

Willot's alarming letters to Carnot are continued. He announces that Toulon is on the point of being delivered up to the English. But this time it is not the Royalists—as were those who surrendered it to Louis XVII.—but the anarchists of the town. They are afterwards to march against Marseilles, pillage the city, and lay it waste with fire and sword. To avert such evils Willot, who does not think he is clothed with sufficient authority, asks for a freer hand, especially for power to arrest the authors of the troubles. The fear with which several members of the Directorate have been inspired induces them, unfortunately, to favor many of the denunciations to which their passions incline them. In such a case calumny against persons who are suspected of patriotism is too often welcomed. As a sequel to what has occurred with regard to Drouet, it seems that even the companions of his misfortunes in Austria are to be prosecuted, and I have heard to-day Quinette and even Jean Debry denounced.

10th and 11th Frimaire, Year V.—The deputy Dumas said a few days ago, "Kellermann alone can atone for the youthful doings of Bonaparte." The latter replies by gaining victories. Thus the motives which served as pretexts for putting off the march upon Rome no longer exist. The Directorate further adjourns the date at which it will write to Bonaparte to take Rome, if that movement of troops does not compromise the army.

Willot does not cease denouncing to Carnot the imaginary projects of the anarchists. Rewbell and I express ourselves against this persistent malice. We are annoyed at seeing a functionary supported whose hatred is so partial and personal. I cite the accusation levied by Hoche against Willot, and ask for his dismissal. Carnot and the Minister of War are to write to inform him that the Government have learned that the Royalist party uses his protection as a prop to their cause, and that he must employ against this enemy the measures prescribed by law.

The Directorate has been for some time denounced by a certain Tort de la Sonde, a Belgian of bad repute but very wealthy. The Minister Merlin finds in this fact the reason of Rewbell's having constituted himself the officious defender of M. Tort de la Sonde. One has no right to interpret the motives of a lawyer. The men who follow the legal profession should have no other guide but their conscience. This is without doubt their wont, with some exceptions, where there is an unwillingness to understand Réal. The adversaries of the Directorate, who regard every act of hostility as a piece of good-fortune, thought they could turn this to account. A deputy writes to me that the Council of Five Hundred passed to the order of the day, with a great majority, on the denunciation of La Sonde. Barely five-and-twenty members of the new Tiers rose to support our motion. Letourneur and Carnot ask, "And for whom have the Montagnards voted?" I reply, "Your former colleagues think that their interest is ours: their vote has been in favor of the Directory."

The Minister Lacroix communicates to us the despatches from Holland. This country, where are to be found the descendants of the De Witts and the Ruyters, is far from maintaining the vigor of those model men of yore. Wealth, with all its consequences, has invaded Holland, and the dikes that protect it against the waters of the ocean cannot protect it against corruption. That is to say, that this republic is open to intrigues of every kind, and that our alliance, in this regard, needs great attention.

Bonaparte, who never forgets himself, and who complains that he is always forgotten, writes to me that the Army of Italy will have new hostile forces to fight. Three months ago, twenty thousand men were to be sent to him, who could be withdrawn from the Armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre-et-Meuse. The orders of the Directorate have not yet been carried out. The War Office has no excuse for such delay. *Who are to blame? It should be known*, whoever they may be. I request the Directorate to write, during the sitting, to General Hoche, who has at his disposal the troops with which he has quieted La Vendée, to send at once to Italy ten thousand of his men. Hoche is not subject to the envy which fears the success of others: he is generous enough to give them all the aid he can. I also require the suppression of the Army of the Alps; that what battalions

still remain there should be sent to Bonaparte, and that inquiry should be made as to what men can be withdrawn from the armies of the Rhine. Carnot considers that no troops can be taken from the Rhine. Moreover, I having given Hoche the credit due to him, the ten thousand men of the Army of the West will be transferred at once to Italy. I am in a position to prove day by day that France is everywhere borne down by an inertia that paralyzes all our resolutions, and fails everywhere to carry out the measures we have adopted. In governing, this execution is everything. I make a proposal to the effect that temporary civic degradation shall be decreed against any authorities who do not obey within the shortest notice the orders they receive. The Directorate adjourns the proposition.

The deputy Cavaignac has just confided to me, as derived from the best possible source, that secret designs were afoot for the restoration of Belgium and the evacuation of Italy, under the pretext of securing peace; that such a plot was supported by members of the legislative councils, and even of the Directorate, notably by Carnot, with whom he had conferred on the previous evening. In giving me this urgent information, Cavaignac declared that he by no means asked me to keep it secret. What is our position if such schemes are devised in our midst? I consider that I ought not to defer the disclosure of so grave a matter, which I regard as belonging to the category of treason. At the opening of the sitting I question Carnot. He admits that he has spoken with Cavaignac upon the project I communicate, but simply "by way of hypothesis." If, he says, our armies suffered reverses, if there were no other means for obtaining peace, then, in order to secure it, he would vote the sacrifice of Belgium and Italy.

Letourneur and Carnot propose to send Lacuée to Naples. It is quite enough, in my opinion, to have formed the administration of forage from the Dumas and Lacuée families, protected by two members of the Directorate. If doubt is thrown upon my assertion, it will be supported by deputies whom I am prepared to call upon to speak at the sitting, and who volunteer to demonstrate the collusion. Carnot interrupts the discussion, requiring that the minister be charged to present to us at once the dismissals ordered by the law of the 3d Brumaire.

The attempts have been seen which, in the early

days of the installation of the Directorate, were made by Murat, who was already a tool of Bonaparte's, to get himself nominated to the command of our guard and our reason for rejecting his demand has been made intelligible. An opinion will be formed as to the place a letter that reaches me from that same Murat should occupy in the intrigues of the epoch and in the calculations of Bonaparte.

In the letter of Murat, dated from Verona, the 19th Frimaire, Year V. (in which, as is his wont—or even beyond his wont—he adopts the tone of the loftiest patriotism, denouncing even his own army, that of Italy, where, he said, the barons, counts, and marquises swelled the number of the military staff), he renewed beseechingly the request made to me at the time of the installation of the Directorate, to be placed at the head of our guard. It was clearly proved that, having become more intimate with Bonaparte since the campaign in which they had been engaged, Bonaparte, unwilling to expose himself to a refusal similar to what he met with in former years, conceived the idea of having a man of his own at the head of our guard. One can understand that he who gayly added to his name of *Murat* that of *Marat* would be exacting in his patriotism! He will soon be among those who, at the moment when the column of Sambre-et-Meuse came up under Bernadotte's leadership, allowed himself to treat these soldier citizens as Chouans, although better patriots and certainly no less honest than those of Italy. Although in his correspondence Murat used those forms which bore the stamp of his personality, he certainly in this case wrote under the dictation of his master; and if one calls to mind the endeavors

suggested to Murat eighteen months earlier, and thus renewed at the very moment when troubles and divisions are about to recur, one can see how Bonaparte was watching every chance, and with what vigilance and determination he is already set upon possessing himself of the forces and the approaches that guard the Directorate.

"HEADQUARTERS OF VERONA, 19th Frimaire, Year V. of the Republic.

"GENERAL MURAT—To the citizen Barras, member of the Executive Directorate.

"I have learned, citizen, that you have recently formed your guard, I have taken every opportunity of showing you my wish to join it. I now renew my request, and beg you to convey my wishes to the Directorate. I should hail with pleasure the day that brought me near you.

"I cannot think my request out of place at a time when great and decisive blows are directed against the army in which I serve. If fighting were still going on, I would not ask of you what every one would disapprove, and what my own heart would repudiate.

"Matters are going on well here; still I cannot but think that the Directorate is deceived as to the principles of many of the persons whom the Minister employs in this army. One hears here of nobody but *Monsieur de . . .*, *Baron de . . .*, *Count de . . .*, and this in societies made up of superior officers. What the devil are we coming to!

"Accept my warm greetings, and allow me to beg you to be assured of my devotion.

"Ever Yours,

"MURAT."

19th Frimaire, Year V.—Although we have settled the principle that it was not for the Directorate to treat in any way with the contractors for provisioning the armies, these gentlemen do not consider themselves beaten. They wish absolutely to do business with the Directorate. The forage commissaries address to us urgent protests against the new system brought to bear against the weal and liberty of the Republic by certain sets

of jobbers. Carnot admits that these kinds of demands have been referred to the Minister of War. He says that this minister should present a plan for the undertaking of the whole service by a company to be joined by Vilain XIV.; and that the government will be able to make its conditions with safety. Carnot, always inspired by those about him to make a favorable or unfavorable forecast, says that the Minister of War desires the general undertaking proposed by Pantini, Dumas, Lacuée and company. Rewbell calls out angrily, "Those you propose are shameless rascals." He will neither consent to adopting this company nor to the general undertaking. "Those who have your confidence," I tell Carnot, in my turn, "circumvent and hoodwink you in this business as in political matters. Lacuée, Dumas, and Doumerc are the enemies of the Republic. This company has formed culpable alliances, even among foreigners. They wish to get the service into their hands that it may fail in time of need and bring about a famine." Larevellière joins Rewbell and me. Carnot yields to our decision, and undertakes himself to inform the minister of the "intentions of the Directorate."

Carnot, being no longer able to represent Lacuée, Letourneur ventures again to propose him for Naples, and Rewbell successfully supports Canclaux. Carnot remarks, in a pique, "The Italian deputies in France would do well to invest their property here, for the day may come when they will not find an asylum in their own country."

Larevellière and Carnot complain of the Finance Commission, which is unwilling that the cedules should be issued by the Treasury unless by special decree: on this condition, it will propose their being prepared to the Legislature.

Rewbell reads an analysis of our relations with foreign countries. He announces that the Toulon emigrants and rebels who went to Corsica with the English, and afterwards landed at Genoa, have just re-entered France with Faypoult's passports. This Faypoult has been a poor minister, and quite as poor an ambassador. His dismissal will be declared at the sitting. "It is an unpardonable act, nothing short of a crime," says Rewbell, "to bring back into the Fatherland its inveterate enemies." Faypoult was the creature of Larevellière, who feels that he cannot defend him without committing himself to personalities. "I wish," continues Rewbell, "that his deplorable administration

had not left such disastrous traces behind it. He has disorganized everything, and protected reckless waste, if he has not shared the plunder. Look at the spoliation of the hospitals. There is a wish to administrate without any heed of the law, and to support the despoilers." In order to put an end to this new debate, the sitting closed.

Firmly attached to its mandate to maintain the institutions confided to it by the Republic, the Directorate will have to carry out the laws of the National Convention, which decreed that the anniversary of 21st January should be observed by the authorities. The Directorate charges the Minister of the Interior with the preparations for the ceremony as decreed by the legislative corps. The Minister proposes that, if the weather is fine, the ceremony should take place in the Champ de Mars. Carnot would have the ceremony confined to France, as it is simply commemorative. When the moment comes, two months hence, the Minister will submit his programme. "Moreover," continues Carnot, "it is ancient history, an affair of the past. Let us think of the future, and even of the present, which presses us." And he asks that the Minister of the Interior be sent into Belgium to arrange the new elections, the payment of arrears, and of current contributions. "The Minister has, no doubt," he says, "had detailed instructions, and, perhaps, the list of the agents he will take with him. It is necessary for me to be enlightened as to projects which may be not too republican in their nature." The Minister will be required to conform to Rewbell's demand.

The men whose plan it has been to hurry Carnot headlong into a political course no less opposed to his interests than to his opinions continue to beset him with vain alarms. He still complains that the terrorists have determined to kill him. They awaited him in a street along which he avoided passing. This is all the proof there is of the plot.

Reports and private letters add to the Directorate's fears as to the capability of Jourdan, about whom Carnot states that the Committee of Public Safety has several times had its doubts, as it has frequently dispensed with his services. . . . "But," urges Rewbell, "your committee has always ended by employing him again, and he must have proved his value, seeing that he was appointed chief in command at Fleurus. . . ." At that moment, General Jourdan is further spoken of as an anarchist. The Directory resolves itself into a secret committee. Every one

gives explanations based upon information received about the armies. It is unanimously determined that before taking any public measures, secret agents shall be sent to the armies under the ostensible character of commissariat agents. The Minister to whom the Directorate very expressly referred the question of provisioning felt that he could not take a side without consulting us. He asks to be heard upon the project of supplying the armies with all their needs, and discusses the inconveniences and the advantages of such an undertaking. He is thwarted by Rewbell, who insists that those making tenders are no more honest than patriotic. Carnot, on whom it is not incumbent to defend himself where his probity is in question, calls upon the Minister Pétiet to tell Rewbell whether any pressure has been brought to bear upon him. Pétiet hesitates; he says, however, that a member of the Commission of Finance urged him to accept this undertaking—a deputy, it is true, but not a member of the Directorate.

The Minister of Police has suspended the performance of a piece by Cousin Jacques called *Nanette*. This Cousin Jacques, whose true name is Beffroy, brother of a sometime member of the Convention of that name, is the same of whom I have already spoken, a friend of Carnot's boyhood, with whom, later on, he composed society dramas and light poems. The passages cited from the anti-revolutionary work leave but a poor chance of defending the author. Still, Carnot continues to support his friend, declaring that this Cousin Jacques, who is said to be an aristocrat, is a good citizen, and that it would be well if all literary men wrote like him. But Carnot cannot defend without accusing. He makes an attack upon Louvet, whom he calls an incendiary. I speak in justification of the deputy who is calumniated in his absence, and who, if he were to make his appearance, would be received with an air of affection. After the debates, Rewbell carries the approval of the conduct of the Minister who suspended the performance of the good friend Cousin Jacques.

No sooner have the priests of the Catholic religion ceased to be proscribed and allowed to emerge from their hiding-places than all their hopes and claims are renewed. It may be said of them, as of so many others, that their appetite comes back as they eat. We leave to them, with a frank toleration and generosity, the possession of the kingdom of heaven. But this is not

enough. They want to possess themselves again of the earth, and to dispute with us the right to its temporal government. This system of invasion, pushed on much more rapidly than one would have believed, has found accomplices and abettors in Lyons. The municipality of that city has passed a resolution granting free and open processions to the Catholic priests. Why should not the Protestants and others avail themselves of the same permission? Carnot, always firm in favor of some to the exclusion of others (*sic*). The Directorate is alive to the consequences of a course which so clearly oversteps the limits approved by the Constitution. The Directorate decides that the authors of this manifest infringement shall be dismissed, and that the higher authorities shall repress similar excesses. Rewbell, at the same time, communicates a letter from the Deputy Vitet, which gives sad details of the murders committed with impunity of which that commune is the theatre. General Canuel is accused of being the protector of fanaticism and of the royalistic crimes which crop up when reaction sets in. Hereupon Carnot eulogizes Canuel. He thinks greatly to elevate that personage, who will never achieve much, by likening him to Willot, upon whom, as upon him, false denunciations have been discharged. We require Canuel's recall. The Minister of Police is to make a report.

The one monarch who, since the death of Frederick, has shown any capacity for occupying a throne, the one "man," one might say, who has reigned in this latter part of the eighteenth century, the Empress Catherine of Russia, has ceased to exist. We have just learned of her death through intercepted despatches. Carnot would like at once to ask, officially, peace of her successor. The Directorate deems this desire for peace very just and very natural, but that its too prompt expression would be indiscreet, and might have just the contrary effect to that desired. Our agents in Hamburg and Berlin are to be told to prepare non-official overtures.

The most splendid mission any government has had to fulfil is that which France has committed to us in constituting the Republic. It is clearly shown that it can only lean upon other like institutions. Those whom victory has enabled to show us their true sympathy entreat us, with uplifted hands, not to abandon them to the resentment of their executioners. They claim the organization of their new existence. Would any one

believe that in the presence of such a possibility, which has now become more than a probability, Carnot seems so little to understand the *rôle* imposed upon us in the case of that fair, beautiful Italy, which we should hasten to organize and to fortify? The Directorate is busied with the project of organizing the republican authorities of Italy. Carnot does not say that our policy should limit itself to squeezing like a lemon Milan and the other States subjected by the French army; that we should carry all we can of that country into France, and then make peace with Austria and give back to her what we have conquered. Rewbell wishes that by organizing Italy and giving her a constitution we should not render that country independent of France, but only of Austria and Rome. Opinions are divided, especially when I submit the idea of constituting a great Italian Republic, which should be the powerful and fraternal auxiliary of France, and would give to the representative system we are starting a kind of counterpoise to the royal and hereditary system, which is still in the majority, and in power in Europe. "Far from an Italian Republic's becoming the sister of the French Republic," Carnot replies, "it could not but be its first enemy. Remember how the Roman Republic began, and whether the Gauls escaped being conquered."

26th Frimaire, Year V.—The discussion threatening to become hot, we decide to write to Bonaparte inviting him to give us his opinion. Renewing the debate with his customary tenacity, Carnot communicates to us a letter addressed to the deputy Isoa, from which it appears that the Italians are by no means in favor of innovations, and that they are opposed to the Republic; that at Milan, as at Ferrara and Bologna, the recruits consist of a few vagabonds, most of them foreigners; that the Milanese look forward to returning to the rule of Austria, to whom they are earnestly appealing; that all our conquests may accelerate peace, which is so much desired even by the French army. Carnot avails himself of this letter to come to the conclusion that the Italian peoples look to their masters for what he calls an "honorable" peace.

The Dutch envoy to Switzerland, M. de Witt, has informed Rewbell that Bâle and Berne are not friends of the French. Bâle has allowed an Austrian colony to pass through its territory, and excuses itself by complaining of the excesses committed by certain French soldiers after the Huningue affair.

28th and 29th Frimaire, Year V. — Malmesbury, the envoy from England, had been announced as arriving in France with proposals that could cause no difficulties of any kind. He has not been long in disclosing the policy of which he is the mouthpiece. He has dared to propose, in the first place, the restoration of Belgium, the abandoning of Holland, the restitution of sequestered property, and the *status quo* as before the war. It is quite clear that the English Minister has, in this pretext of peace, no other aim than to expose the Directorate to odium. Can we so much as listen to such proposals and ignore that their object is to open a way into the interior of the Republic to agents against whom it had hitherto been closed? The Directorate resolves that the pretended English negotiator shall be asked to produce his ultimatum. Malmesbury replies by referring to his first proposal, and adds that he is about to send a messenger to London. As for me, I think, and I declare plainly, that the dignity of the French Government does not allow it to suffer any longer the presence of a diplomatist who is charged with such indecent and insulting propositions. He wished to prolong his stay in France, and to be there during the elections. Rewbell would have him sent off at once; and Larevellière is of the same mind. Letourneur and Carnot offer no opposition. Carnot asks that our ultimatum be communicated to Malmesbury. This is adopted.

On the 29th Lacroix gives the reply of the English plenipotentiary. He adheres to his first statement, but he is about to send another courier to London. Letourneur would wish to continue the negotiation. Carnot hesitates, but will not yield. Rewbell wishes to reflect. Larevellière and I declare that when it is a question of honor there can be no further reflecting, and that in this matter the honor of France is the first guarantee of its safety. We insist upon the cessation of all correspondence. Never will we go on our knees and ask for a peace which will despoil us of all the advantages that have been gained at the cost of the sacrifices and the

blood of a whole generation. After many hours of very animated debate, it is determined that the Minister of Foreign Affairs shall notify to Lord Malmesbury the order that he quit the French territory. Nevertheless, the Directorate will be able to continue to correspond through messengers if the English Government is sincerely desirous of peace.

As Carnot at that sitting resumed the dignity and firmness which he formerly displayed when the Republic was placed in positions of the greatest difficulty, we believed that this return to our principles was genuine. We congratulated one another upon this, and we had further cause for congratulation, after the sitting, with the deputies who came to the Luxembourg. The best disposed of these deputies, Treilhard, Jean Debry, Bergoing, and others, thought the fact of this probable reunion so important that they felt it a duty to tell Carnot himself of their satisfaction. They went to him to compliment him on his vote against Malmesbury, and hoped to get him to rally to the Republicans, to determine not to look behind him, but to move on with the friends of the Revolution without any feeling of bitterness as to the past. They have seen in him one of its purest and most intrepid defenders by raising him to the highest magisterial position.

An official note from our Hamburg agent gives the analysis of a Royalist plan of conspiracy against the Republic. Among the emigrants of note who play the principal parts in this intrigue is mentioned a certain "Abbé Louis." This man is no other than he who, as the vicar of Talleyrand, Bishop of

Autun, and his coadjutor in 1790, celebrated with him the mass of the federation of the 14th July. He it is who will reappear in France in order humbly to serve the Empire, and afterwards arrogantly to overthrow it and restore the sovereignty of Louis XVIII. and his successors, beginning, as is the wont of such people, by taking very good care of himself—rising from the lowest indigence to the wealthiest position, like his patron Talleyrand. But before they reach their goal, the vicar and the bishop will have to conspire together, or each one for himself; and after they have enriched themselves, they will conspire against those who raised them, if only for the gratification of betraying the Governments that have been weak and foolish enough to trust these irrepressible priests. The deputy Madier is named as in correspondence with the Hamburg clique—as a person of importance approving from within the Republic the plot in which he looks to take an active part. Rewbell asks that a copy of the plan be sent to the Minister of Police; and that all statements concerning it be deposited at the Directorate by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order that the measures to be taken may be considered.

From the 1st to the 6th Nivôse, Year V.—Another official note states that a popular movement has taken place at Leipzig. Carnot says that this is a Jacobite movement, and will damage the French Government, to which it will certainly be attributed; that Louvet, Poultier, and their adherents are not ignorant of these intrigues, and that they must be denied in articles sent to the newspapers. He also wishes publicity to be given to a letter in which the Adjutant-General Minette calls the Prince de Conti

"Monseigneur." It is thus that these pretended patriots must be unmasked; for memories of Republican pride come back to Carnot, who will not have this "monseigneuring" of princes. "If," I tell him, "you would bring the false patriots to book, you must not spend time in attacking and stigmatizing the genuine ones. The honest patriot, Louvet, should not be relentlessly attacked, and insurrections attributed to him which may just as likely be incited by enemies at home as abroad." Carnot, reverting to another matter, requests that the order be sent to Moreau to take the general command of the Armies of the Rhine and of Sambre-et-Meuse. The Directorate gives the order. We are at last rid of Beurnonville. He is dismissed, and is free to go and rest after the blunders which have gained for him the contempt of the two armies.

Carnot then presents a list of the municipal officers of Arles, as selected by Willot and Durand-Maillane. After a long discussion I get the matter referred to the Minister of Police for his report.

One of Beurnonville's aides-de-camp announces the Sambre-et-Meuse Army is in want of everything, but remains republican. Carnot replies, "Say *anarchist;* the soldiers declaim shamelessly against the Government; they regret Jourdan, they detest Kléber, and they would use us roughly if they got us into their hands." This is how Carnot, who has no self-restraint, alienates the defenders of the Republic and plays into the hands of the Royalists by his sallies. The Directorate should express feelings of another kind to the army. The truth is that the army, which is steadfast in its republican and virtuous spirit, has again and again covered itself with

glory. It has overcome difficulties unprecedented in modern warfare. It only asks to march to victory under an efficient leader, and to be provided with clothes and food. Let us try to supply its needs, and not to calumniate it. It will gain new glory; for it is thus that French soldiers reply to their accusers.

The deputy Lebrun, member of the Council of Ancients, has begged Carnot to get a commissioner of his choosing for an arrondissement in which he is interested. Is this deputy Lebrun, who did not hesitate to tell the Directorate he was a Royalist, the confidant from whose hands we are to receive our functionaries? Carnot says, innocently, "Lebrun is much changed from what he was when secretary to Meaupou (*sic*)." Lebrun has protested that he is now, like Portalis, very republican. It is upon that recent assertion that Carnot has put it to us that Lebrun and Portalis are firm in their support of the Republic. These two thorough-going Republicans are no more nor less than the two personages who are destined to distinguish themselves so ostentatiously in the service of the Empire. While one of them will call himself "Excellency," the other, if he does not take the title of "Prince," will think himself one; and so will his children. The Directorate wishes to be civil, if it is not entirely credulous. Lebrun's commissioner is appointed. Satisfied with this small success, Carnot adds, "From what is imputed to my brother and me, it would appear that we told the deputy Bergoing that the Republic would only be well governed and administered by moderate citizens. I do not disavow this latter part of my opinion." "It is

no less that of us all than yours," I say to Carnot. "We agree in our principles; the only question is their application. The choice of persons is the matter of fact upon which we must agree calmly and sincerely if we wish to maintain the Republic."

From 7th to 10th Nivôse, Year V. — Clarke, sent to Italy that he may give us an account of the political and military condition of the conquered peoples, has no longer to limit himself to that simple mission. As has already been seen happened when he was at Lyons, he will soon give new proofs of that duplicity which public opinion regards as the established feature of diplomacy. Instead of keeping in mind that he was the agent of the Directorate, Clarke has begun by making himself that of Bonaparte, and taking his pay, communicating to him his secret instructions. He sends to the Directorate a list of general officers employed in the Army of Italy. The observations which accompany this list note specially that Augereau, Masséna, and Lannes are thieves capable of all kinds of exactions.

Bonaparte was at first so little disposed in Clarke's favor that, a very few days after his arrival, we received from Berthier's staff, that is to say from Bonaparte himself, the following note:

"The army communicates the following—

"Clarke is the nephew of M. Shée, secretary of the Duke of Orleans. This Shée was at the same time secretary-general of hussards (*sic*), with a colonel's commission. Clarke was guidon to the *colonelle générale* in the Duke of Orleans's hussar regiment; and the strange thing is that he accompanied the Duke of Orleans to London when that prince,

under the Constituent Assembly, obtained the permission of the King, or received the order of Lafayette, to leave Paris forthwith. During the whole of the English mission he was its interpreter, its intimate secretary. How is what is transpiring to be explained? How badly off we must be for genuine Republicans, if, when we would enter upon a treaty for peace, we can find no other negotiator in the Republic than an Irishman, and he formerly the private secretary of Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans—a friend, it is true, of Carnot's. Possibly, out of gratitude for this conciliating procedure, the English will barter Lord Malmesbury against M. Lally-Tollendal, who is already playing at London the part accredited to Malmesbury at Paris. Here the Bourbon faction begins to cry out against the 'faction' of the Duke of Orleans. 'But where is it?' some one asks. A statesman replies, 'It is on the road, where it is to be hoped it will break its neck! for we honestly desire the Republic, and the Constitution of the Year IV. (*sic*).'"

We have done nothing further in regard to Bonaparte's note. It deserves some attention as a specimen of his libellous style, which is so impregnated with venom. Clarke thought that by his treason he had got the better of Bonaparte, and was on the best of terms with him. But Bonaparte maltreats him and picks him to pieces. He acted no less falsely with his "generals." We have just seen how, wishing to deprive them of all civil honors, he held them up to opprobrium as if they were so many robbers. He treated them no less badly with regard to their military honors, of which he did not yet wish to deprive them. When he wrote to us boastfully about

the exploits of the Army of Italy, awarding the chief praise to the generals who had co-operated with him, especially Augereau at the bridge of Arcola, he informed me that we must not consider serious all he said of these famous and much-bepraised generals. "One must speak highly of them for the sake of the Republic. We want names that appeal by their greatness to the imagination. Men are influenced by their senses. We must show them giants." But Bonaparte did not need our aid to obtain the publicity that suited his purpose. By means of Regnaud Saint-Jean-d'Angély and other agents in his army, he was in touch with all the Paris newspapers, just as he was the master and creator of those of Italy. It has been seen how, while trying to tame Clarke so as to employ him against the Directory, he busies him in Paris as an Orléanist, so as to discredit him in every way, in order to keep him under his thumb and to turn him to account at his will.

Moreau states that the second line of fortifications is finished, and that Kehl cannot hold out any longer. He has been obliged to withdraw his troops. The French army is 60,000 strong. The enemy is much less numerous. It is on the open and we are intrenched. The order not to yield Kehl is sent at once to Moreau.

Although Moreau's retreat was brilliant enough to be regarded as an unquestionable success, it has had the unfortunate effect of bringing us back to the Rhine and of causing us to lose the left bank. The head of the bridge of Strasburg, the fort of Kehl, has been able to check for a time the enemies' forces, but the first treaties that were made with several parts of Italy are not definite, and have only been regarded as armistices. Any rupture that may occur depends upon the chances of war.

Carnot, who has for some time been in a very undecided frame of mind, tells us very good-naturedly that he gave yesterday a dinner to the patriotic deputies. He told them that we

are looking forward gladly to a quite natural reconciliation. This was hoping too much. Carnot's guests complain of the Directorate's treatment. Carnot replied to Treilhard and Bernard that they were the instruments of Louvet, Poultier, and other exclusives; that the patriots who were repulsed by the Directorate were men who only wore the garb of patriotism, and resembled the adjutant Minette, who "monseigneured" the Prince de Conti.

11th and 12th Nivôse, Year V.—Letters from Lyons, from Provence, and Languedoc by trustworthy civil and military functionaries announce that the Royalists are publicly recruiting, that assassinations still occur, that public spirit is destroyed, that patriots are proscribed, and that the counter-revolution is to the fore. The Directorate can put a stop to all these excesses by a proclamation, by issuing orders, and by sending out commissioners. A message sent at the same time to the Councils would have an effect, and would excite the energy of the representatives and of faithful Republican citizens. Carnot thinks these reports exaggerated. He again obstinately insists that the terrorists are alone dangerous, and that royalism is naturally by no means bold. We tell him in reply that there are instances that contradict this opinion. Lacroix, Minister of Foreign Affairs, states that the negotiations opened with Sardinia have been broken off by that Power.

The Minister of Police fears that the existence of his office would be a matter of doubt if he did not constantly arouse our apprehensions by facts proving the usefulness of his department. He brings us, with a jubilant air, and gives us to read, an intercepted letter, written in Switzerland by an emigrant priest named Proyard to the Bishop of Le Puy in Velay. Proyard has come to Paris, sent as a messenger by General Prince Hohenlohe to M. Sandos, the Prussian Ambassador. He has, it appears, travelled through France. During his stay in Paris he has been admitted into thirty open churches, and into many private oratories, where he has said mass, and

also into religious houses recently established. He has seen Carmelites and sympathizing people who have visited them, mention being made of the daughter of the Minister Bénézech. The French are discontented. It is to be hoped that attendance at places of worship, and intercourse with the ministers of the Lord, will recall them to repentance and piety. He has met at Paris Monsieur Cognon, who keeps one foot in and the other outside the Revolution. He is a friend of his and of Monsieur Gérard of Lyons. They have both money to send him. Henri Larivière is spoken of as a good Royalist. The watchword is, "No outburst, but steady moulding of public opinion." The clergy and the nobility have always retained their influence. They must use it cautiously to reclaim those who have gone astray. France is big with a king. With these measures, aided by foreign powers, it will be brought to bed happily.

After reading this document, which is no doubt royalistic, the Minister asks for the orders of the Directorate. Rewbell proposes a message to the legislative corps, and is supported by Larevellière and me. Carnot does not agree with us. He always keeps in view his one fixed idea. He sees the country threatened with anarchy. It will, he thinks, take advantage of the message against royalism, which offers no danger. The danger lies in Louvet's and Poultier's newspapers. It is they who disorganize our armies and provoke desertion. Rewbell is furious at these repeated declamations against the terrorists. "I will throw myself," he says, "entirely into this terrorist party. I will march with those whom you are always calling rascals, and will save the Republic." He says it is humiliating to him to

sit in the Directorate. He is sorry he did not remain in the Legislature, that he might wage war against the Chouans, the "privileged," and even against the Government which conducts itself in so paltry and unworthy a manner. I support Rewbell by adding, "If there is disorganization in the armies it is because of the more than suspicious men we have sent out to them." "I should wish," Rewbell continues, "that the armies were all of them terrorists, as Carnot himself put it in a speech at the National Convention during the reaction of the 9th Thermidor, one of the finest he ever made. Is it not to these so-called terrorists that we owe the victories without which we should neither be at the Luxembourg nor anywhere else? No one is more calumniated than myself by the papers of the Chouans, who find these protectors in our midst. The day when the Directorate reunites to itself the friends of liberty the personalities that appear in some of the Republican newspapers will cease." The Minister of Police asks to be simply authorized to communicate all this information to the commissioners of the Councils, with the remarks he has heard. This is adopted.

CHAPTER XIX

Attempted landing in Ireland—Hoche is to direct it—Incompetence of the officers selected for the expedition—Admiral Morard de Galles—Grouchy—Failure of the expedition—Bantry—Waterloo—Result of the expedition—Captain Lacrosse—Naval fight—Return of Morard de Galles and of Brieux—Humbert—My opinion of the Irish expedition—Lively discussion about the defence of Kehl—"Let us not lose our temper"—Despatches relative to Kehl—Shall a messenger be sent?—Carnot alarmed—The informer Grizel—Our agents at San Domingo—Santhonax—The Civil War—The monk Gallas and his newspaper—Where shall the 21st January be celebrated?—Amusing fears of Carnot and others—A letter in cipher—Atrocious songs repeated in the South—Anger of Carnot against the journalists—He is laughed at—Negotiations with Austria—The plenipotentiary Vincent—Important statements of Malo as to the devices of the Royalists—The Prince de Poix—De Narbonne—Viomesnil—Bouillé—Puisaye—M. de Bourbon—Spurious Bank of England notes—Morainville—Improvements introduced by Bonaparte in the issue of spurious foreign notes—Proposal of peace with Austria—Conditions offered by the Directorate—My opinion as to giving Italy her freedom—Carnot resists—Harmony seems reviving in the Directorate—Journalism continues to damage it—The Directors wish to put the journalists to death—My opinion upon calumniating powerful men—"Does calumny pay?"—A brilliant discovery of Carnot's—General Jourdan's correspondence—Hébert—*Le Père Duchesne*—Carnot and Louis XII.—The style of the Year II.—The old soldier (*soudard*) of 1793—Demands of the King of Prussia—Willot denounced again—General Marescot—Civil war among the comedians—Assistance given to Ximénès Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Poinsinet, and the father of Hoche—Ultra legal measures taken by the *bureau central* of Marseilles—Report from Comeyras, the agent in Switzerland, upon the conduct of Brune—I protect Brune against Carnot—The municipalities in the South restored—An occult Government—Gen-

eral Hoche at Rochefort—Surrender of Kehl and the bridge of Huningen—Desaix—The Royalists pretend to eulogize Bonaparte and me.

16*th Nivôse, Year V.*—It will be remembered that we received, nearly a year ago, secret proposals from the Irish, who informed us of the discontent that prevailed in their country towards England. O'Connor and Fitzgerald, authorized to come by way of Switzerland, had met. They were heard. Fitzgerald was a sincere patriot, who had been led to take the course he adopted—one of sheer loss to him—through his devotion to liberty. It cost him his life. O'Connor, on the contrary, had everything to gain, and this was his one aim. He asked for money, money, and then for the highest military rank, although he had never been in the army. I have come to know that through compliance and boasting he afterwards obtained from Bonaparte, as Emperor, all that we were unable to grant him, beginning as general of division. (I have even been assured that he has been receiving his pay for twenty-five years without ever having smelled gunpowder.)

Underlying the cloud of words with which O'Connor enveloped the intrigue of which he was the author and agent, the Directorate, taking into account the reports he had received, judged that there might be a foundation of truth as to the case of Fitzgerald, and occupied itself in carrying out the plan proposed. The idea, which was certainly not beyond the daring and the means of the French Republicans, was to separate Ireland from England. The Irish people called upon Heaven to move us to deliver them from the yoke of their tyrants. Of all

the military men at our disposal, the best able to direct and carry out such an undertaking was certainly Hoche, the pacifier of the Vendée. Eminent as a politician no less than as a warrior, he had given every proof of efficiency. He was appointed commander-in-chief. We trusted enough in his discretion and fine feeling to give him all he required —men, money, and ships. I was asked for a list of naval officers who were devoted to the Republic. My advice was not adopted. It was supposed to be affected by my liking for the old-fashioned naval methods. Monsieur Morard de Galles was appointed admiral of the fleet. This officer was an honest man, but did not possess the skill and activity indispensable to such an important enterprise. My judgment as to his capabilities was in no sense prejudiced, but was the outcome of observations I had made during a naval campaign with him.

Hoche, when he reached Brest, saw that the preparations were being made slowly and unwillingly. He wrote frankly to the Government that with such people nothing but reverses could be expected. Still he courageously determined to devote himself to his glorious mission, and at last he set sail with his fleet. The ships got ashore on leaving Brest, and, the fleet becoming dispersed, only a part of the ships arrived at the rendezvous, Bantry Bay. Grouchy, who came in first with 6000 men, did not venture to land. Having myself many times set out from the port of Brest on my different voyages, I had a special knowledge of the neighboring waters, and considered it my duty to warn my colleagues of the difficulties presented by St. George's Channel, especially in the then season, the end of December.

This same General Grouchy who causes this Irish expedition to fail is the same man who, twenty years later, will bring about our defeat at Waterloo. Waterloo! Bantry Bay! However Grouchy may explain away his conduct to his contemporaries in these two cases, they are none the less unfortunate, and his name will be inseparably connected with their painful history. The *Séduisant* lost her course as soon as she left the port, through the ignorance of her commander, whom the Minister of Marine ought to have dismissed from the service the very next day. The frigate *Fraternité* having been unable, on account of the fog and a strong gale, to rejoin the army the day after its departure, made sail towards Bantry Bay, the place of rendezvous. Having reached the bay, she was terribly chased by a number of vessels; and having escaped that danger, she again made for the entrance of the bay. It was during that time that the army entered the bay, cast anchor, and withdrew. However, the *Révolution*, a ship of seventy-four guns, was in these quarters, and informed Admiral Morard de Galles of what had occurred. Believing it impossible to get his naval forces together, he made for Brest, and coming upon an English division, was subjected to a second chase, which was no less severe than the first. He determined to sail south, the *Révolution* still keeping him company. They met with the dismasted ship *Scévola*, which was on the point of sinking, and took on board her crew and troops, after which they sank her. After that they came across the *Tortue*, which had taken two prizes, and eventually landed at La Rochelle. They even recovered, *en route*, the *Suffren*, which the English had manned some days before.

The *Droits de l'homme* and the frigates *Bravoure* and *Justine* had still to be brought in. The latter has not turned up; but *La Bravoure* has arrived at Lorient, having lost her rudder. It is asserted that another ship, the *Ville de Lorient*, is also in that port. As to the *Droits de l'homme*, when about to anchor off Brest, near the bay of Audierne, she was taken at night for a frigate by a cut-down ship carrying heavy guns, and by an English frigate of forty guns. The fight lasted through the night. Unfortunately the French vessel could only bring one of her batteries to bear upon the frigate, her other battery being swept by the storm. Still at daybreak they were within pistol-shot. The English ship, fearing she might be boarded, tried so to manœuvre as to get at the left side of her enemies. She then ran into us, and, unluckily, our ship lost her mizzen-mast and her great top-mast. The English vessel was very badly damaged by the cannon, but not so cruelly dismasted as the *Droits de l'homme*. The wind gradually rose, and after having touched the rock with her keel, she succeeded in getting out to sea and escaping us. Meanwhile Lacrosse did all he could to tack about and rejoin the frigate, which he had so chastised that she had no wish to put in a second appearance. Unfortunately, do all he could, there was no getting away from the coast. In the first place, the storm came from the sea, and then, his great mizzen-mast being down, he was absolutely without resources. He drifted about until he got upon a rock, and there he remained.

Rear-Admiral Bouvet, however, who had parted from the fleet that was sailing for Ireland, returned

to Brest in violation of his orders. He is to be arrested and tried.

Morard de Galles and Brieux arrive in a few days, bringing with them General Hoche, who is taken back to Rochefort. . . . Such are the sad accounts which Hoche, quivering with rage and broken down with grief, gives us; and such is the unhappy result of an expedition which made England tremble and close her bank; and which calls from Mr. Pitt, in spite of his fears, such an expression of admiration for the French as the following: "How are we to struggle against brave men who advance against us protected by the tempests!" General Humbert, commander of the *Légion des Francs*, was on board the *Droits de l'homme*. He showed much courage and coolness in a ten hours' fight, during two of which he was close alongside the enemy.

All the battalions that landed have been sent to the departments of what was formerly Brittany, and it is believed that a second expedition will not be attempted—at least during this year.

Bonaparte, on learning that this Irish enterprise had been frustrated, exclaimed, in his usual self-sufficient tone: "But why were not these twenty thousand men, that were confided so readily to General Hoche, sent to me, in Italy?" We have given Bonaparte all the reinforcements he could possibly need. There were no arrears due to Bonaparte. And we must not seek to blame the Directorate where it was not at fault. The Irish expedition was an admirable, grand, and just conception. It failed through the want of skill of the navy and the weakness of the military commander. The French poet makes Cæsar say:

Et j'ai souvent connu qu'en chaque événement,
Le destin des Etats dépendaient d'un moment.

If Hoche had succeeded in landing in Ireland, the fate of that country as well as of England would have been sealed. The testimony of Mr. Pitt, a fairly good judge of the matter, and whom I have already quoted, will bear me out. Never have this minister and his country experienced "such a shock."

17th Nivôse, Year V.—As General Moreau persists in declaring that he can hold Kehl no longer, Carnot proposes that he should be authorized to capitulate or withdraw. Rewbell would have him ordered to defend the place to the last cartridge. Carnot replies that this would mean uselessly sacrificing a great many people, and even the artillery. He attacks Rewbell personally, addressing him: "If Mayence had been defended in that manner . . ." Rewbell shows, by very calm and close reasoning, that there is no likeness between the position of Kehl and that of Mayence. He sees, too, that the surrender of Kehl is already determined upon, and that Moreau has only asked for authorization in order to guarantee his own responsibility. He has been instructed to defend Kehl to the last, and the order must be carried out. Carnot sees here a hostile feeling against Moreau, whose military talents ought to protect him against hard-and-fast treatment. I propose that Moreau be directed to hold Kehl as long as his ammunition lasts and its defence is possible. Larevellière is of my opinion. Carnot is unwilling to write to Moreau. Letourneur adopts my proposal, and Rewbell reverts to

his view, which is more stringent than mine. Larevellière drafts a letter. Carnot refuses to vote. Rewbell prefers Carnot's suggestion, and is supported by Letourneur. The majority adopt it. The discussion is closed with these words of Carnot, which he considers conciliatory: "Colleagues, do not let us get angry." In the course of the evening General Dupont, at the instance of Carnot, asks me to sign the despatches relative to Kehl. I sign accordingly. "Is it necessary to send a special messenger?" I ask the General; "this was the intention of the Directorate." A few minutes afterwards he comes back to me to say that Carnot will not do anything on his own responsibility. I reply that it is our duty to carry into effect the clear intentions of the Directorate. The messenger is sent. Although the energetic views that Carnot manifested in conducting the war in 1793 have no longer the same daring character—and that shows a timidity against which we are often obliged to make a stand—it is much to be desired that he should devote himself wholly to that branch in which he shows himself a superior man. His imagination has become the prey of certain persons who have taught him to look upon Jacobinism as a vampire which incessantly dogs his steps.

On the night of the 16th news was brought him in hot haste that the anarchists were assembling in arms near the Pantheon. He informed the Minister of Police and the commander of the guard of the Directorate of this report. Wishing to counteract the terror of which Carnot is the victim by sheer facts, we have charged the second in command and his chief to reconnoitre these armed as-

semblies. After a patrol that has lasted a day and night, they agree with our other agents that they have met with no one of the kind described, and that everything is perfectly quiet. Carnot was so convinced of the danger that threatened him that he seems as unhappy as humiliated to have again to acknowledge that it is a chimera.

18th to 22d Nivôse, Year V. — The Babeuf conspiracy trial is proceeding at Vendôme. The informer Grizel is called as a witness at the high court. Carnot considers it necessary, in order that he may not be assassinated on the road, to send him by a roundabout way, and to supply him with a passport, and with money for his journey. But has not this man, who has aided and abetted those whom he has brought to judgment, and who are less criminal than he, already had enough? We all make this reflection as we look at one another with signs of shame. However, the Minister of Police is to furnish this Grizel with funds.

It would seem that those who are placed in power at a great distance from the capital would have all the greater motives for remaining united in order to make a strong stand against the obstacles they are destined to encounter. But as war appears to be part and parcel of the nature of all the inhabitants of the globe, our envoys at San Domingo get on together no better than we do here. The proceedings of these commissioners are produced and read by Truguet. They show great disunion among these agents of the delegated commission. The colleagues of Santhonax have said that they are prepared to invest him with full powers, and to become themselves mere secretaries. These proceedings represent a policy of despair to which men who have such important duties to perform ought not to commit themselves. Santhonax has refused; but he consents to stay where he is for some months. The division among the agents shows what course will be adopted by the citizens whom they were charged to quiet and unite. Civil war will break out again in San Domingo.

The Minister of Police, by way of truce, or in compensation for his ceaseless denunciations of the anarchism of the Jacobins, occupies us from time to time with the machinations of the Royalists. He believes that they are entirely revealed or exposed in a newspaper called the *Censeur*, conducted by a certain Gallais.

He is an ex-monk, who, because he has been made much of by Carnot, thinks he need use no precautions in proclaiming his anti-revolutionary principles and in formally furthering the return of royalty. The Minister directs our attention to one number especially of this paper, which, he says, is couched in the most perverse terms, and is quite inexcusable. Rewbell and Larevellière require the instant arrest of the author. "Put it to the vote," my two colleagues say to me. I am not agreed, and I reply that I am not at all of their opinion—that we must do our duty and let these journalists say what they like. It is well that they note, blame, or approve the course taken by those clothed with important functions. Every one will have justice meted to him by public opinion. Carnot replies, "I vote for the arrest if Louvet and Poultier are included." The Directorate comes to no decision with regard to the *Censeur*.

The Minister of the Interior brings the programme of the ceremony of the 21st of January, which he very improperly terms a *fête*. "If the weather is bad," Letourneur says, "it will take place within the Directorate." Carnot thinks it would be dangerous to assemble the people at the Luxembourg: "It would be informing them of the means of passing in and out of our quarters." He suggests Saint-Sulpice. I reply, laughingly, "But that too is very near the Luxembourg." Cochon, Minister of Police, and Larevellière propose the hall of the Institute. "On condition," Carnot and Letourneur reply, "that no one is admitted without cards." "That quarter is very populous," Carnot remarks, "and accidents might happen. The place of meeting should not be announced beforehand." Notre Dame seems more suitable, but the Minister of the Interior will make an inquiry as to available localities. The edifice in question might be blown up while the Directorate was within its walls. Letourneur and Carnot whisper together, and are no doubt

interchanging their notions as to the probable effects of that bright idea. Rewbell addresses them: "Speak to the Directorate. No doubt you have news from Kehl or Brest. Is the Minister of Marine coming?"

Carnot receives a letter in cipher written from Milan by Clarke. We ask that it may be deciphered and read. Carnot is silent.

The correspondence from the departments grows more and more alarming. The assassinations increase in number and are unpunished. A report from the commissioners of police at Marseilles establishes the progress of royalism. Songs of death and vengeance are sung with increasing audacity. The health of Willot is drunk—of Willot, who favors the excesses committed against the Republic, and who smiles at the murderous songs which are re-echoed in the streets:

Vive Willot, vive Liégard,
Sans oublier le brave Isnard!
Vive Chambon, vive Cadroy,
Vive à jamais, vive le roi!
Vivent les sabreurs trop humains!
Périssent les républicains!
Nos pistolets sont bien chargés:
Ils seront bientôt égorgés.

Add to these impious songs such reactionary rallying cries of the people as, "Down with the Republic!" "Death to the Five!" And it is against the victims designated by these enraged Royalists that the commander of the place and the gendarmerie still direct all their harsh measures, in order to deliver them bound hand and foot to their executioners. And nothing is done beyond referring the matter to the police.

While Carnot is so lenient towards the journalists who only concern themselves with his colleagues, he is proportionately irritated against those among them who attack him personally. He would get Rewbell to share his resentment, telling him he is not spared. "Very well," replies Rewbell. "Then let us take our sticks, march side by side, and give a hundred strokes to your critics and a hundred to mine—to the *Censeur*, to 'Cousin Jacques,' and the rest of them." "Such an expedition," one of us remarks, "should be confided to Carnot, for he thinks himself the most injured. It would not be giving him his due to refuse him the presidentship of this paternal correction of journalists." Carnot cannot keep his countenance, and laughs. "Write down that he has laughed," says Rewbell to the secretary Lagarde. Vexed at having laughed, Carnot replies, seriously, "But our honor, our probity, everything deserving respect is attacked." Rewbell says we must answer these calumnies by our conduct. We are in the front rank that we may be attacked, and also that our innocence may be seen.

Negotiations have been begun at Milan with our agent Vincent, who is making terms with Austria. Clarke writes that these negotiations are broken off; that the treaties that bind the emperor to England prevent his effecting a general armistice: that, moreover, there is no desire to recognize the Republic; and that it would perhaps be possible to negotiate a treaty clandestinely. Powers to that effect are sent to Clarke. It would be preferable to employ our secret agent at Vienna.

The Minister of Police, who daily occupies us about matters of no serious importance, tells us that this time he has something of the gravest character to communicate, and asks for a special meeting. I

send away the secretary Lagarde. Cochon reads a declaration from Major Malo, who continues to be in command at the camp of Grenelle. This officer states that his vigorous course when the anarchists made an attack upon the camp having made the Royalists believe him to be an aristocrat, the commissaries of Louis XVIII. have tried to suborn him; that he yielded to their advances with a view to serving the Republic and the Directorate which represents it; that he has conferred with the Prince de Poix, De Narbonne, Viomesnil, Bouillé, and many others whose names he does not know; that massacring the Directorate has been under consideration; that the Duke de Bourbon was expected; that one of the children of the Count d'Artois was to be at Paris; that Puisaye had been there three days; that steps were being taken to re-establish the throne; that the abbé Sicard was in correspondence with the conspirators. Malo states that they charged him to enlist in their interests the commander of the grenadiers of the legislative corps; that many promises had been made him, and the prospect of being placed in the foremost rank of the august personages who were to appear on the scene and play the principal part in this counter-revolution. The Directorate, after having listened to this declaration, instructs the Minister of Police to request Malo to devote himself to following the traces that may lead to a full discovery, while he, the Minister of Police, gives the closest personal attention to the matter.

War times are not moral times. The pretexts they give for all kinds of violations are turned to account. It is certain that since we have been at war with England, that power, allied with others

and in league with the *émigrés*, has caused false assignats to be fabricated in order to ruin our national monetary resources. It is true that a great amount of this forged paper money has been introduced into the country and greatly prejudiced our credit. The Minister of Police has thought the French Government quite justified in retaliating the circulation of this forged paper money manufactured in England. Upon an official proposal being made to him by a M. Morainville, he has authorized that individual to produce imitation Bank of England notes. Morainville has conveyed many millions to England, Holland, and the Hanseatic towns. This fabrication, however, through endless blunders, has not damaged the Bank of England (which had been forewarned) in any way. If in these Memoirs, in which I consider I ought not to hush up anything which we have done, rightly or wrongly, whether spontaneously or under pressure, I have had to reveal so serious a fact, it is not that I think it possible to justify it by any of the excuses that are called the necessities of war, or even by the *lex talionis*. This anti-socialistic and truly infernal method has been since carried out on a large scale by Bonaparte against the Banks of Vienna, Hamburg, London, etc. It was reserved for that Satanic genius to surpass the worst and most disastrous political inventions.

26th Nivôse, Year V.—The discussion is opened regarding the instructions that are to be given to Clarke as to the ultimatum to be sent to Austria. Carnot proposes that it be simplified—*i.e.*, that the emperor should be asked to give up Belgium. He would then resume the possession of his states in the North of Italy; and (as a compensation for Italy) be allowed to extend his dominions

in Germany. Rewbell maintains that the Rhine boundary should be preserved. The proposals it is wished to make to the Emperor of Austria would be hardly honorable to France. The Minister of Foreign Affairs would allow Austria to occupy Bavaria and the Bishoprics of Passau and Salzburg, while we retained the Rhine boundaries and preserved free and independent the places we occupy in Italy. Rewbell and Larevellière speak in favor of the Italian peoples. Carnot and Letourneur hold that these peoples merit no consideration; and that we must secure peace for ourselves without concerning ourselves for others. To my thinking, the Republic should above all things distinguish itself by its fidelity to its engagements, and by specially protecting those who fight for their liberty. Carnot replies that the Italians are our enemies; that it would be as absurd as painful to think that the conclusion of peace, so important to France, can be set aside for a bit of jobbery on behalf of the independence of the brothers and friends of Italy. All Italians are, in his eyes, cowards and rogues, the effect of the long bondage in which they have been held by the priesthood, which has enervated and debased them. These people are, no doubt, human beings, and will some day, when educated, rise from their degradation. But it will be a long affair, and it is not for us to undertake it. "Meanwhile," Carnot continues, "I don't consider that the Italians of to-day are worth spittle."

After a very long discussion, it comes to about this: Belgium, and whatever has by law been united to France, is to be kept. The Stadtholder is to get his compensation out of Germany; the treaty is to extend to Holland; six months are to be allowed for the evacuation of the conquered countries; the Italian peoples are neither to be asked to advise nor to act; and Rome is not comprised in the present treaty. I propose to include the independence of Bologna and Ferrara, for which they have asked, and which we have promised again and again; that the inhabitants of Italy shall keep their properties — selling them, transferring them, and deriving income from them while in their own country and when in other countries, where they shall be free to migrate. Carnot declaims with renewed violence against the poor Italians, insisting that they are ruffians attached to royalty and anarchy, and that we ought not for the sake of such ragamuffins to lose out of sight the all-important interest of France —peace. Letourneur calls upon me to answer this question:

Ought we to break off negotiations if the emperor adheres to the conquered peoples being excluded from the treaty? I say unhesitatingly that we should break off this and all other negotiations, unless we would fail in upholding the first principles of the Revolution, to which we owe our existence, and which demand our respect, failing which we should be the worst of betrayers of that liberty and humanity of which we are believed to be the foremost defenders. "Yes, I swear in the name of the French people, who have not intended to put traitors in this place, that we will accomplish the foremost of its wishes by honoring and supporting the cause of those to whom we have made our interests theirs." Thus do I answer, without any sort of pretence, the question put to me. Never will I consent to deliver up the unfortunate Italians to the stupid fury of Austria. To immolate them to their tyrants after having incited them to independence would be vile treachery, the most cowardly of crimes. I repel the idea in the name of the Republic, of which I am proud to be one of the founders, but of which we are simply the magistrates. I reject any ultimatum in which a clause in favor of the Italians is not to be a formal stipulation.

In speaking thus, I was carried away by a feeling which was not simply anger—from which I do not pretend to be always free—it was indignation mingled with tender emotion. Rewbell, who seemed as much affected by my words as I was myself, told me next day that he saw tears in my eyes, and that he was surprised he was able to restrain his own. Neither of us, however, are very ready with our tears! Seeing that Larevellière, Rewbell, and possibly Letourneur, agree with me, Carnot appears to yield to the general feeling, and consents to the article which guarantees the security of the property and persons of the Italian peoples. Rewbell and Larevellière draw up an article framed to that effect. Bologna and Ferrara are not named. According to Carnot, Holland has had too much consideration, and we have no reason to pride ourselves upon the gratitude of the peoples for whom we have worked. "This," I answer, "is because they were not free; because they had not shaken off the vices of servitude. Come, Carnot, let us forgive them their trespasses, as they forgive ours! The liberty we have bestowed upon them has not been gratuitous. They have not even seen its flowers; when will they see its fruits? Let us see in the member of the Directorate the energetic and warlike member of the Committee

of Public Safety. You have obtained such great results, you have helped to win such a splendid game at chess, that you must maintain your success. In order to get peace, we must not fear war. Let us go on courageously. We shall soon cry, with Columbus, 'Land!'"

In siding with those who favored the opinion that Bavaria should be ceded, and also the bishoprics already designated by the cession of the bank of the Rhine, "Have we not here," I asked, "enough sacrifices to insure the independence of the conquered Italian countries?" Carnot replied, in a much milder tone, "But, my dear colleague, how can we present the ultimatum on this last condition?" I answer, "But it is agreed upon." Carnot gives way, and exclaims, "Well, I hope we may succeed!" Clarke will make the proposition as some compensation for Belgium. Bonaparte is to be informed of our ultimatum, Clarke giving him an account of our negotiations.

It has been seen that when great public interests are before the Directorate, they obtain, at the present time at least, all its attention, and thus subdue individual passions; these, indeed, one might believe altogether extinguished by the important political result accomplished at the last sitting. How will the wretched newspaper articles, after this, be able to upset real patriots, and influence minds that are devoted to the loftiest thoughts? Carnot still complains of the *Ami des lois;* he accuses the Minister of Police of not daring to move; he still wishes Louvet to be killed; Letourneur would kill Poultier; and Rewbell wishes to kill the *Censeur*, which has ventured to say that his niece is a contractor, while Bergoing insists that Carnot's niece is the offender. I joke my colleagues about these proposed massacres of journalists. "At any rate," say Carnot and Letourneur, "they must be arrested." I repeat my opinion that even a little calumny should be tolerated when authority or men in high power is in question; that, as a rule, the public take the proper measure of falsehoods; and as to truths, they are always useful. I reject any measure for arrest on account of personal insults to directors or legislators. Carnot adds that the *Censeur* compares the deputy Guyomard to the executioner, and that the newspapers and their echoes have said nothing about himself but lies. "What do you complain of then?" replies Rewbell; "calumny is lucky." "Apply that to yourself," I answer. Rewbell smiles.

Who would not believe that we have obtained a genuine re-

covery of tranquillity, and that every one, for his part, has got over his irritability? But the passions are incurable. The day after the discussion I have just related Carnot arrives, quite radiant, as if he had made a discovery that was to upset everything. He brings us an original letter written in Frimaire of the Year II., that is to say three years ago, addressed to Hébert by General Jourdan, in concert with Ernouf, the head of his staff, and the deputy Duquesnoy. No doubt this letter (written at the climax of that terrible year known afterwards as the "Terror," and to which so many recriminations more or less well founded were referred) involved burning questions of patriotism. And no doubt Jourdan wrote in too great confidence to Hébert. This Hébert was originally a very second-rate personage; but the reputation he had as a patriot was calculated to make those at a distance suppose he was of some importance. Unfortunately his influence became great when his journal, *Le Père Duchesne*, poured in torrents into all the armies, was read by generals no less than by their soldiers, who could not help regarding it as gospel, seeing that the opinions of *Le Père Duchesne* were transformed into laws and judgments. But after all, what can a letter written in the Year II. by General Jourdan have to do with the present moment, that it should be used to make one of the two the accuser of the other? Here is a fragment of this letter: "See in what a labyrinth we have got lost through false methods! You must think they emanate from false patriots. We have spoken to you about the man. *Satisfy yourself*, brother. We will lay bare our heart as to one who can remedy the misfortunes of the Republic!"

Carnot came to the conclusion that the designation "the man," in General Jourdan's letter to Hébert, referred to no other than himself; that this being so, Jourdan was an anarchist who henceforward would not hesitate to turn against a member of the Government, since at that time Carnot was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. This retrograde reasoning seemed to us singularly dangerous, and I told Carnot he was no longer a member of the Committee of Public Safety, but of the Directorate. Louis XII. said that "the king did not remember the insults offered to the Duke of Orleans." Without assuming that this quotation was quite to the point, and agreeing that it was not perhaps republican enough for Carnot, it was, however, possible to apply to one's self a general principle, so necessary

especially during revolutions. Carnot exclaims that it is not he only that is concerned, but principles. "What principles do you refer to?" we ask. "Principles of hatred, certainly. . . ." Carnot will have us listen to the rest of the letter. It is a postscript as follows, written in Jourdan's hand, and signed by him. "And I too am angry, d . . . the army is in want of everything, and zounds! the scoundrels who are well shod would have the infantry march without shoes, the cavalry without forage, the horses without hay, and the artillery without horses. Good-bye, d . . . Jourdan." The members all regret that such language should ever have been used; but can Carnot fail to see that this angry tone was part and parcel of the energetic action that burst out in the midst of the conflagration; that it had nothing to do with the existing state of things, with which alone the Directorate has any business to concern itself? Carnot, more exasperated than ever, replies that it is very certain there is no getting a hearing for the voice of honor and justice; that he was prepared for the refusal he has met with to-day; that, to satisfy his conscience, he has had a copy made for each of us of this document of Jourdan's (the original of which he will keep); and that he gives each of us a copy that we may, after reflection, consider whether we can retain such a "*soudard de* 1793" at the head of the armies. Carnot forgot that the "*soudard*" of whom he spoke so disparagingly was no other than the hero of Hondschoote and Fleurus; that he, Carnot, had been one of the first to propose General Jourdan as commander-in-chief at the time the letter referred to; and that he had signed every one of the commissions of the man whom he was now accusing of holding opinions which they had all of them acted upon. . . . And this is what our passions lead us to! How forgetful they make us! And how importunate and tormenting they render their memories to those who would fain forget them! How they lead astray an otherwise superior man!

While such unworthy discussions are going on in our midst, the recollection of which I should wish to obliterate if our painful experience did not offer a useful lesson, the King of Prussia asks that the Prussian countries on the left bank of the Rhine be administered according to the former legislation. He adds that the anniversaries of the kings of Prussia ought to be celebrated; and he makes such a point of his own birthday being kept, that if any obstacle were put in its way he would regard it

as a personal offence. This may foreshadow a desire for a rupture. If we suffer reverses, he will attack us. This is the known policy of the Prussian Cabinet. We are prepared for it. Rewbell is opposed to showing any weakness towards the King of Prussia. The other members think that we must continue silent, and things go on as they are.

It would give me a moment's rest, and I should be really happy, if I could see France restored to tranquillity, and if the impassioned agents who still occupy their posts were not constantly kindling the fire of resentment. It is impossible to hope that the South will be at peace so long as it is subject to the sway of Willot. I place before the Directorate fresh charges against this firebrand of a general, and require his dismissal. Carnot proposes Pichegru. Larevellière and Rewbell believe that nothing would be gained by such a change. Carnot interrupts to announce the arrival of General Marescot. This General of the Engineers has left the Army of the Rhine in a state of total disorganization, and in want of everything. I remark to Carnot that it is surprising we know nothing of such a state of things until the evil reaches its climax. The Minister of War will submit plans by which men and provisions shall be sent to the Army of the Rhine as speedily as possible.

It is not enough that journalists interrupt the sittings of the Directorate—it is now the turn of the actors. There is a most marked split between the different performers at the theatres, especially among those of the Republic and of Feydeau. The Minister of the Interior says he has done his best to bring about a reconciliation between them, but without success. They almost drive him mad, and take up more of his time than all the other functionaries put together. I do not think that such matters ought to occupy the Directorate. I order the Minister to bring the disputants to my house, that we may take such measures that the theatre of the Republic may not undergo any defections by which art will suffer.

Ximénès and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Poinsinet and Hoche's father are all in need. I have done my best to help them, but men of worth and talent are the legitimate creditors of the country. I think I ought now to put their case before the Directorate. I ask aid for citizens who are deserving in every respect, and a residence for Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. My proposal is agreed to, and the Minister of the Interior is to carry it out.

The *bureau central* at Marseilles has summoned the municipalities to consider what steps should be taken to protect itself against the counter-revolution, which is not only shielded but encouraged and fomented by Willot. Protests against this illegal measure are made. The Minister of Police is to report upon it. Rewbell communicates a letter from Comeyras, foreign agent in Switzerland. Brune has informed him that the forts at Brenette and elsewhere have not been demolished in conformity with the treaties. Carnot, who is still in his angry mood, says that Brune is an anarchist general whom it would be well to get rid of. I rise and ask Carnot "if he has any crime to charge Brune with, except that he is a Republican. He executed his orders rigorously under the Committee of Public Safety, which would have had him guillotined if he had not obeyed. Was I not myself denounced to and by your committee, before the 9th Thermidor, for having been too lenient in furthering its wishes? I have not complained of acts of severity, or even of violence: they were an indispensable means of defence, and freedom was their aim. I may even myself have been the first to overshoot the mark, when we were no longer the masters either of circumstances or of men. We were obliged to be bold, terrible even, in order to meet the demands of the Revolution. Now that it has purified itself, the great thing is to be wise and mature, as it would have us be, and to live subject to law amid constitutional surroundings. To revert to past ills is reprehensible. Carnot, of all others, would have nothing to gain by this appeal to personalities, constantly harking back to the troubles of the Revolution."

I was about to enter upon a series of arguments and memories, which Carnot saw were about to be sprung upon him, when he suddenly toned down. The Minister of War and the agent in Switzerland will furnish promptly explanations of Brune's conduct.

Compelled to let Brune alone, Carnot turns to another point. "Have you examined Willot's despatches?" he asks the Minister of Police. Cochon answers him in the affirmative. "And do you bring the dismissals of the municipalities?" Carnot asks. "No," says the Minister; "in my opinion all that should be done would be to effect certain changes among the commissaries. They are all recalled, and replaced by the nominees of the secret agent sent to Marseilles." I require the Minister of Police to state who that agent is. He confesses that the

agent was sent upon the recommendation of Letourneur and Carnot, and that he is receiving pay. A mode of governing by two which is not very legitimate where the government numbers five, and where everything should be settled by the majority! One might call this a government within a government, or even an occult government.

General Moreau being unable to hold Kehl any longer, this fort is given up to the Austrians after a siege of four months. The garrison, commanded by Desaix, leaves with all the honors of war—drums beating, flags flying, and with arms and baggage. Some days afterwards it is found that the head of the bridge of Huningen can no longer be defended; it too is abandoned.

The Minister of Police, whose indefatigable zeal manifests itself in every way, tells us, no doubt in our interest, that a number of individuals have banded together, who are busied in unmeasured commendations of Bonaparte and Barras; that these persons instigate addresses in our favor, but that the addresses are dictated by the Royalist party, who wish to discredit us; that foolish and faithless patriots fall into the trap; and that the deputy Bergoing possesses special information about this society. It would appear from his programme that any good he might say of Bonaparte and me is said in order to do us harm, so that our case with the patriots, who esteem us, would be as unfortunate as with the aristocrats, who pursue us with their hatred. For my own part, I believe I am as indifferent to praises as to insults; and I am sure that I am no more ready to gain the former than to fear the latter. My conscience is the sole tribunal I consult; but if I sometimes stand before it as a defendant, I do not always acquit myself. For the rest, I request the surveillance and the intervention of the Minister of Police as to the matters he has disclosed to us; they are of a new and somewhat original nature.

CHAPTER XX

New fears of Letourneur and Carnot as to the 21st of January—Report upon the Irish expedition—We save the Théâtre Français—General Malo fired upon—The deputy Rouillet accuses the Jacobins of this act—Ceremony of the 21st of January—Tricks played upon the Directors—My discourses—Silence of the people at the cry of "Vive la République!"—Meeting at my house—Vexation of Hoche with regard to the Irish expedition—A dinner during the armistice—German music and *La Marseillaise*—A Batavian Constitution projected—Who Pérignon, our ambassador at Madrid, is—Turbulence of the priests—Shall a message be directed against them?—A poetic quotation—Royalist theatre tickets—Hoche General-in-Chief of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Calumnies against me in the newspapers in the matter of Babeuf and Germain—M. Cadet—A minister and his apothecary—Report of Clarke upon the Army of Italy—Bonaparte's brilliant victories—New discussions concerning the independence of Italy—Affront offered by Carnot—Result of the discussion—Anger of Bonaparte at the arrest of the chief officers of the 17th demi-brigade—Fate of the message relative to journalists—The abbé Poncelin—He is whipped—His complaint to the Directorate—I am compromised—Tragical account in the *Gazette de France*—To whom it is attributed—M. Fiévée—Jokes of which he is the butt—Declamations of the journalists and deputies upon the Poncelin affair—Laughable fears of Isnard and Dumolard—Letter of a *juge de paix*—Domiciliary visit to the Luxembourg—The abbé Poncelin confounded—He thanks me—His infamous calumnies against me—How I avenged myself—Explanation of the Poncelin affair—Marceau's dying words—Conspiracy against the journalists—Poncelin chosen as a victim—What shall be done with him?—The whip.

9*th Nivôse, Year V.*—The day of the ceremony of the 21st January draws near. The fears whispered by the members of the Directorate when it was pro-

posed to use Notre Dame for the ceremony have become the common property of the interested persons and inferior agents whose ears they have reached. They continue to turn to account the affrighted imagination of our colleagues. Letourneur, acting upon reports he has received, chiefly from an usher, whose name he mentions, requests again, in an alarmed manner, that the cellars and underground passages of Notre Dame may be searched. Carnot joins him, it seeming by no means impossible that this edifice might be blown up while the members of the Government were assembled there. The majority of the Directorate lend themselves to these childish fears. Letourneur and the Minister of Marine talk together in an undertone. They seem fearful of speaking audibly of the unfortunate result of the Irish expedition and of its no less disastrous consequences. We ask the Minister to make a report to the Directorate. He states that the *Scévola* has been sunk, but that her crew is saved.

I communicate the laments made by the performers of the different theatres who met, at my summons, at my house. The leading one, that of the Republic, is under the sad necessity of having to close at once. If the Royalists wish this to take place, the Directorate should lose no time in coming to the help of the theatre which represents in the most appropriate way French masterpieces. Letourneur opposes any subsidy being granted to the Theatre of the Republic. Larevellière and Rewbell agree with me that suspension should be avoided, as this would mean destruction. The Minister of the Interior is to take action and supply the necessary funds. By preventing that downfall we shall save our principal dramatic establishment, the one home of art left after so much destruction.

2d Pluviôse, Year V.—When once a people's imaginations are excited, every little circumstance becomes an event. Guns fired from the Invalides have wounded in the thigh a soldier who was

walking by. Malo, having passed that way a few moments afterwards, would have it that it was against him that the Royalists and anarchists had directed their shot. It appears that the authors of this in no way premeditated accident are simply two bakers who were shooting at a target in one of the courts, and that it was caused by sheer want of skill. . . . Such at least is the opinion of the Minister of Police, who, we know very well, is not eager to discover *innocent* people, and still less to create them. At the Council of Five Hundred the deputy Rouillet attributes this murderous attack to the Jacobins.

Letourneur is still advising the Minister of Police to take the greatest precautions with regard to whatever might disturb the ceremony of the 21st of January. We take a carriage for Notre Dame. The people made fun of the costumes of the Directors and Ministers, and some of the women made grimaces at us. Placed upon a platform prepared for us, we were suddenly enveloped in a cloud of dust. Cobwebs and earth seemed thrown from a hole in the roof, opened to admit the bells. This discharge seemed principally aimed at the bald head of Carnot; he even believed that he saw spittle fall upon the music he held in his hand. He was close to me, and I withdrew to another part to be out of the reach of these tricks. The discourse I delivered as president met with no murmur, any more than did the oath. The people remained silent at the cry of "Vive la République!" which was repeated by the authorities alone. When the ceremony was over, we returned to the Luxembourg. Our colleagues thought they had escaped from a great danger. I gathered round me in the evening a member of each of the Paris authorities. The Minister of War brought to me Generals Hoche and Lefèbvre. Hoche had come back from Rochefort as angry as

grieved about his Irish reverses. He denied that there had been any storms at sea during the navigation of the fleet. He complained of the sailors. General Debelle, his brother-in-law, said that they were as lacking in instruction as in patriotism. The ship *Les Droits de l'homme* stranded after fighting a ship that had been cut down and an English frigate. The frigate in her turn ran aground on the French coast. All that was left at sea of the French expedition were two transport ships.

General Lefèbvre, who had come from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, was interesting to hear speak upon the position of that army, of which he was one of the creators, and which he has never left. He told me how much the defenders of the Republic felt their being thought of such small account at home, and assured me that General Kray "was perhaps more indignant than the French at the calumnies circulated against the Republican generals. The Austrian avowed that in any case he should feel it an honor to recognize the merits and virtues of the French soldiers. At a dinner which General Kray *gave us during the armistice*," continued Lefèbvre, "the fancy took him to let his band play the air of the Marseillais, '*Allons, enfants de la Patrie*' . . ." Lefèbvre went on to say, with the greatest warmth, that the defenders of the Fatherland and the Republicans were thought more of and were safer at the outposts than within our boundaries.

Let us return to the sitting at the Directorate. Rewbell and Larevellière show that the Batavian Assembly is in a state of unsettlement which is as disquieting to that country as to ourselves; that it is not possible to leave it any longer without a constitution, floating as it is before the wind of all the passions that

burst out from among gatherings of the people which react angrily upon France itself. Holland must be compelled to accept a government. I consider that, consistently with the most ordinary forms of politeness, and in accordance with what is fitting among free, or professedly free, peoples, we cannot go further than to convey to Holland a desire based upon the reciprocal interests of the two sister and friendly republics. Rewbell, who is very urgent in his wishes, was at no loss for authorities, ancient and modern, in support of his opinions. Insisting that what is politic is by no means necessarily what is polite, he cites the conduct of the Romans towards the peoples they conquered, and that of the Greeks, who, beginning with the Lacedemonians —unlike the Athenians—organized on aristocratic lines those whom they subdued. It is determined that Larevellière shall lay before us a project for a Batavian Constitution, which will be sent to Noël, our ambassador, in order that it may be offered to the Dutch Committee.

The correspondence from Madrid announces to us that Pérignon, our ambassador, is to a certainty merely the valet of the Prince of the Peace.

The Directorate has up to the present held and practised the maxim of toleration for every form of worship. It has considered that its proper course consisted in not busying itself about this matter. But it is not enough for the priests that one is tolerant: they call this being indifferent, and indifference has always been in their eyes nothing less than a crime. And what is equally criminal in the eyes of those who have refused to take the oath is, that the celebrations performed by the constitutional priests should be accepted. We have been informed by letter that in the department of the Pas-de-Calais a refractory priest has announced publicly from the pulpit "that it would be less criminal to kill a man than to assist at a mass celebrated by a priest who had taken the oath." Rewbell cannot listen without anger to such a communication. He wishes us immediately to prepare an instruction. He sees the Republic perishing through the weakness and the partiality of those who administer it. Carnot, on the other hand, does not consider it politic to speak and act against the priests. "They are," he says, with a grin, "rough fellows to come to loggerheads with. But it is they who revile us; and are we to hold our tongues, prostrate ourselves before them, and give them the privilege of inviolability? Would

you have the State subordinated to Religion, or Religion to the State? For my part," he goes on to say, "I cannot see how any organization is possible where the law can be violated and outraged with impunity. Priests, soldiers, magistrates, we must all of us before all things respect the law." Larevellière, who is not illiterate, quotes these verses to Carnot:

> La loi dans tout État doit être universelle:
> Les mortels, quels qu'ils soient, sont égaux devant elle.

Carnot has written many verses in his youth, both signed and anonymous. He remembers them with pleasure. He is even suspected at the present time of having a hand in the compositions of "Cousin Jacques." Carnot gives a nod of applause to Larevellière's quotation; but no decision is come to about the attempts of the refractory priest.

The Minister of Police, who neither overlooks nor spares us any wretched detail, informs us very seriously that tickets and cards stamped *Comédien du Roi* have been distributed at the Louvois theatre. Possibly this is merely an error arising from old tickets which have not been destroyed being given out through oversight. Rewbell and Larevellière vote the closing of the theatre. This was proposed a few days before by Carnot, and was supported by Letourneur. They now are opposed to the measure, and resist it. Protestations and discussions might result, even at the assembly of deputies, and such discussions as should be avoided. Rewbell believes that any hesitation on the part of the Directorate would be weakness. I consider that before taking any action we should be quite clear as to the facts, and that these ought to be obtained by the Minister of Police.

The circumstances which caused the failure of the Irish expedition are far from proving the impossibility of that enterprise. On the contrary, they have demonstrated that it was unsuccessful through faults that might easily have been avoided, and that success must follow upon another attempt. This is the opinion of Letourneur, Carnot, and Truguet. They say it lies with the Directorate, if

it shows a firm will, not to have to eat its words, and to checkmate England.

I am sincerely of their opinion; but I think we have more pressing engagements, above all that of re-establishing the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, and of placing at its head a general who is able to inspire it with confidence and to lead it again to victory. What could be more fortunate than our having at our disposal at this moment General Hoche, who has left such grand souvenirs with that army, which he was the first to create and organize when he commanded it, two years before, as the Army of the Moselle? . . . Hoche is appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse.

If I allowed myself to give way to the irritation which the stings of the journalists have set up in Carnot's mind, I should, perhaps, have a better right than he to complain of their attacks. Two newspapers, the *Censeur* and the *Gardien*, have printed a sort of charge against me relative to a letter written by Germain to Babeuf. They make me play a part to which I am a stranger. I am represented as delivering addresses which I have never uttered, and which are refuted by their base character. I have never known or seen Babeuf. I know Germain slightly; he was a lieutenant in the *Chasseurs*, and I was so circumstanced as to see him; for, having been dismissed before the 13th Vendémiaire, he fought under me on that day. This fact, pointing to an intercourse with me, has been since used by him as a pretext for seeing me and writing to me. Nothing has led me to suspect his being other than loyal, brave, and Republican. Larevellière, and even Carnot, propose that action

should be taken against the journalists who have calumniated me. I formally object.

Among the persons the Minister of the Interior proposes should accompany him to Belgium, the Minister of Police (who tries to make himself interesting at the cost of every one else, not excepting his colleague, who is called his friend) points out to us a Monsieur Cadet as dangerous, on the ground that he has on several occasions expressed himself strongly against the union of that country with Belgium. Rewbell considers that such a travelling companion is not altogether desirable. Carnot and Letourneur say that one cannot prevent the Minister from taking with him one of his friends, above all his apothecary. But it is not in this capacity that we want him. M. Cadet is to accompany Bénézech as long as it is agreeable to both of them.

Clarke has been asked for notes relative to the heads of the army corps of Italy. They have been forwarded by the general-in-chief. They refer, for the most part, to the principle upon which he had already dilated to me: it consisted in whispering to me in confidence everything he could against those whom he publicly extolled in his solemn reports. The divisional generals, following in their turn, whether advisedly or instinctively, the example of their masters, passed the most severe and even defamatory judgments upon their subordinates, whom they had mentioned in very flattering terms. A sad and shameful instance, this, of the conduct of many officers when no longer engaged on the battle-field: their duplicity is on a par with the most perfect specimens of this sort of thing presented to us by courts. Clarke, who has smiles for every one,

and agrees with whatever is said to him, tells us confidentially, in his turn, that to choose and to exclude is the work of the divisional generals; that in this operation many may have yielded too much to the influence of their personal political opinions. He has no wish to throw blame upon those who have been selected, but merely desires to exonerate those whose only crime lies in the fact of their having been set aside.

We get news from Bonaparte. He has just won a series of brilliant victories—gained on the 23d, 25th, 26th, and 27th of last Nivôse. The engagements at Saint-Michel and Montebaldo preceded the famous battle of Rivoli, and were followed by the engagements at Anguerin (*sic*),[1] the battle at La Favorite, and the engagement at Saint-George, before Mantua. Twenty thousand prisoners, sixty pieces of cannon, flags, ammunition, and convoys are in our power. He writes us that of the ten thousand men of the sea-coast army which have been so long announced as on their way to him, he has, up to this, received only eighteen hundred. "Do not wait," he says, "to send me the aid I need until the emperor has organized a new army."

At the moment when such decisive triumphs weigh so heavily in favor of the Directorate in the balance of negotiations, it seems to me that the noblest way in which to avail ourselves of our advantages is to insist upon the freedom and independence of the peoples of Italy, and in the first place of the Milanese. Carnot still resists. His system is to give back everything. Rewbell main-

[1] Probably Anghiari.—Translator's note.

tains with much warmth that so large a restitution would be an immoral and impolitic surrender—one, moreover, that is now impossible on account of all the antecedents that have bound us to the conquered peoples, to whom we have formally declared that they were freed peoples whose independence we would protect. "Were we capable of such conduct," continues Rewbell, "it would constitute a treason which might lead to the massacre of the French army." "No," replies Carnot, "our army would be in much greater danger if what you propose were accepted. Peace would be delayed; perhaps broken off; and I would not delay it a single hour for the whole of Italy." Larevellière speaks in favor of Italy's independence. Letourneur and Carnot do not desire it. Carnot goes so far as to say he would give any one a slap in the face who proposed to break off the peace negotiations under the pretext of Italian independence. Rewbell takes the words that escaped Carnot's lips seriously. "Explain," he says, "what you mean by a slap in the face, and to whom your threats are addressed." And hereupon Rewbell rises as if insulted, and ready to seek instant satisfaction. Carnot replies, with a smile, "I ask pardon of my colleague. When I said 'if any one proposed to break off the negotiations,' I of course meant my words to apply to any one not connected with the Directorate. I know very well that here it is our right and our duty to discuss our foreign relationships in all their bearings." The outcome of the matter is that Clarke is to be told to insist upon the independence of Milan if a clause to this effect would not lead to the breaking off of the negotiations, and that Bona-

parte is to be consulted. Rewbell asks that the article in the *Sentinelle* of Louvet of the 2d Pluviôse, which is in favor of the independence of Italy, may be reprinted in the *Défenseur*. In spite of the opposition to this proposal, we carry the separate printing of this article.

2d Pluviôse, Year V. — Bonaparte, who raises his tone more and more every day in proportion to his victories, writes to us in the most imperious manner requiring the chiefs of the 17th demi-brigade to be given up who were arrested and illegally detained at Marseilles by Willot. Perhaps we ought not to yield anything to the insolence of a general; but as this time he is right in principle, the necessary orders will, at my instance, be given.

The message relative to the journalists is presented by the secretary Lagarde, and rejected. A simple statement of the facts is adopted, which will be transmitted to the legislative body.

While I every day proclaim the principles of the liberty of the press, and even toleration of the journalists who abuse it, a scene of a very singular nature takes place, in which I am to play a principal part that is not properly mine, although many appearances are against me. Here are the facts, at least as adduced by the complainant, M. l'abbé Poncelin.

According to the information laid before the Directorate on the 7th Pluviôse, a superior officer of the gendarmerie went off, armed with a forged mandate, to bring from his country-house M. l'abbé Poncelin, proprietor and editor of a newspaper called *Le Courrier républicain;* he arrested the said abbé, brought him blindfolded to Paris, and put

him into a room in the Luxembourg, where, towards seven o'clock in the evening, fifty strokes of the birch were given him on the orthodox spot. This treatment, it would appear, was the consequence of insults directed chiefly against Bonaparte and Barras, with which his paper is filled every day. The *Messager du Jour* states, in its 230th number, that on the 6th Pluviôse two individuals presented themselves at M. Poncelin's, saying that they were to communicate to him correspondence which showed positively that the pretended victories of the General of the Army of Italy were fictitious; and that, turning to account this enticing statement, which was received with transports of delight, a complete defeat was substituted for the last very real victories. M. Poncelin, after having edited his paper in Paris, generally returned in the evening to his place in the country. He saw in the morning two persons arrive, bringing with them a mandate against him. He followed them unsuspectingly, and they crossed together the new boulevard of the Luxembourg. He was then made to go up to the apartments of the Director Barras, and was taken to a room looking upon a much-frequented court. Some soup was brought him, and he asked for coffee. Soon afterwards his dinner was served: he ate with appetite, and, strange to say, the service was of silver. . . . At the end of these phantasmagoric meals, served by masked individuals, M. l'Abbé, according to the deposition, was seized by these same armed persons, who belabored him with blows until the blood came.

There was something romantic and mysterious in this history that was well calculated to exercise

the curiosity of the public. It formed excellent material for the press. The *Gazette française*, adopting the high tragic tone, gave, in its customary style, an account of the facts so colored and with such insinuations that it was easy to see the attack was to be directed against me. The friends of Poncelin cited this passage, which they called pathetic and full of interest. I, in my turn, do not hesitate to reproduce the article in its entirety. The editor of the *Gazette française*, after having represented the victim as bleeding, torn, and humiliated, puts into his mouth this prosopopœia: "It was through obeying a mandate clothed in legal form that I was taken to a prison not recognized as such by law. And what place was chosen for this prison? The palace of two persons elected by the people to protect me. In going to the Directorate could I believe that I was on my way to death? It was my confidence in its justice that threw me into the arms of my executioners. I was innocent of what they charged me with. Had I been guilty, it was for the law alone to punish me. Directors, legislators, if by your silence you approve of the maxim that every one should be his own magistrate, society will crumble to pieces forthwith, and daggers will be more powerful than decrees. The laws which protect me are clearly explained in the charter of the Constitution; but, already the victim of assassins, who is to save me from those who compass my death if you do not come to my succor? My laments will be regarded by them as an act of rebellion against their supreme authority; the interest shown by tender hearts, a conspiracy; and public indignation, a revolt against

their legislation. If you do not avenge me in the name of the laws—laws so cruelly violated—if my cause does not become your own cause, every heart will withdraw itself from you, crime will triumph, and you will all perish. Already several among your number have been threatened with assassination; this is a well-known fact. Who knows if among my assassins you will not recognize those who practised on me the blows they will administer to you? But if your danger is imaginary, the murderous attack upon me was none the less real. I am a Frenchman; the Constitution protects me. Its power lies in your hands: avenge me—or, rather, avenge the Constitution—and cause the power to be respected which it has confided to you. Who will dare to doubt the protection of the constitutional charter if they see the assassins prosecuted even within the palace of the Directorate, whose name they assumed in order to arrest me, and whose seal was borrowed to return to me my papers? And who will venture to reckon upon that protection if so many violations are sanctioned by silence? My tormentors ordered me to recommend my soul to God's keeping. I had offered Him my sorrows and my life. But since I still exist, I confide myself to those in authority. It is for them to preside over earthly justice, as God presides in heaven over eternal justice and the immutable order of nature."

This passage was, at the time, attributed to Monsieur Fiévée, the principal editor of the *Gazette française*. . . .

Following in the steps of the *Gazette française*, to the sound of the warlike trumpet of M. Fiévée,

next day all the battalions of the daily, weekly, and monthly pamphleteers made an onslaught upon me. Fearful imprecations were hurled against that Barras who, they said, had ordered M. Poncelin's birching. The whole of Paris was full of the affair. Isnard solemnly declared that he would prefer the loss of a battle to the misfortune of so repugnant and arbitrary an act. Isnard went to too lofty a sphere for his comparison; he does not by any means move in that sphere in which battles are lost or won. Dumolard hastens to Carnot to consult him about all this business. "No one," he declared, "is any longer safe." And while thus expressing himself, according to Carnot's own account, he seemed feeling for the buttons of his small-clothes, as if to protect himself from a like attempt against his person. Rewbell came to me to talk about Poncelin. I said: "The accuser must be confronted with the person and persons accused. Witnesses and documents are indispensable to the action." Two days afterwards the *juge de paix* of the Luxembourg wrote to me respectfully asking permission to make an examination of the places indicated in M. Poncelin's complaint. I reported his request; and it was determined that the Minister of Police should notify the *juge de paix* that it was to the Directorate itself that he should apply in order to obtain what he required. I begged the Directorate to accord whatever might be asked. The examinations were so made as fully to meet the demands of the plaintiff who had invoked the arm of the law. He recognized no one of the places he had mentioned in his charge, nor, among the members of my household, any one who had taken part in the

doleful treatment of which he had been the victim. On the other hand, some days afterwards M. Poncelin was charged with having attempted to bribe two of my people, with a view to getting them to make statements against me. He was thus baffled by the cross-fire of a superior battery. His advisers showed him that, as he could bring forward no evidence, he could hope for no success before a court of justice; that it would be useless to show to France his bruises, the proof of his whipping, since such are we as a nation that when once a person has become ridiculous his only escape is in oblivion. M. Poncelin speedily withdrew his charge. He added his respectful apologies to those of the *juge de paix*, who was greatly disturbed at having caused me inconvenience. I accepted the double apologies, and told M. Poncelin that I thought it would be an act of kindness on my part if I could induce him in future to be less careless in his way of speaking upon what touched the honor of citizens. "It is not a matter that concerns me personally. I am a public man. I have of my own accord taken my stand on the high-road, and have no right to complain of mud or storms; but others might be more fastidious—so, take care!" The abbé had dared to say in his paper that during the ancient *régime* I had been sent to Bicêtre under a warrant; that I had cheated at cards in a gambling-house, etc. I ask respectable men whether such gross calumnies can be regarded as coming under what is understood by polemics. . . . M. Poncelin, withdrawing ceremoniously, added his thanks to his apologies. . . . Some time afterwards, when he was mixed up in the disturbance of

the 18th Fructidor with the journalists, it will be seen how I acted towards a man who had committed himself to such odious defamation.

But I hear the reader say: "What right do you, Barras, think you have to show such generosity later on, when at the head of a great *coup d'état?* What is the leniency of the dictatorship but a further outrage of that justice of which it interrupts the course? . . . If Poncelin had so cruelly insulted your friend Bonaparte and yourself, why not prosecute him in the law courts? In thus dealing with calumny, full reparation would have been made. Besides, you have given us your own account of the affair. You cannot be punished by the law through lack of evidence. But are you absolved by the highest of all tribunals, that of your own conscience? And in this version of yours, what have you told us as to your share in the assault? How is it that he who is always talking of the freedom of the press can have shown so little respect for that freedom as to punish in a way so criminally arbitrary an error, a slip, or even a misdemeanor?" I will answer with the frankness of a man who in writing his memoirs has fully meant them to be his confessions, although he has not given them that name with the ostentation with which it has been employed by philosophers and even by saints.

Here, then, you shall have in all its simplicity the history of the abbé Poncelin's catastrophe as I have known it in its every detail; the details have, however, been in my possession for only two or three years, as is proved by an important document which came into my hands in the year VII., and which I give in full.

It is true, according to what I have cited of the daily amenities of literature directed by M. Poncelin not only against Bonaparte and me, but against all patriots, civil and military, whether functionaries or simple citizens, and against the whole of the adherents of the Revolution—it is very true, in a word, that all Republicans had singularly good reason for complaining of the abbé's calumnies. Bonaparte was not the least sensitive among these to insults. His irritation had on several occasions been goaded to the extreme; and his anger was natural enough when, day by day, his most brilliant and decisive victories were transformed into defeats. "I thought," he was constantly saying, "I deserved a different recompense." Bonaparte, greatly wounded, often wrote to us his complaints, wondering how we could allow him to be so maltreated—as if the matter depended upon us, or as if it were possible for us to ignore or override the laws except by *coups d'état.* We said in reply to Bonaparte what I have always said where I have myself been concerned: calumniators can only be dealt with by law, or treated with that contempt which soon obtains the sanction of public opinion. This never satisfied Bonaparte. He reminded me of what he had so many times written to us by soldiers of all grades, aides-de-camp, and generals, whom he sent to Paris. These military men of the Army of Italy, whom Bonaparte especially referred to me as his friend and their natural protector, had often met in my rooms many comrades from the Rhine and from all the armies, and had discussed the spitefulness of the journalists and their constant feeling of hostility towards the glory of the Re-

public. It was related at my house that General Marceau, while dying at Altenkirchen, said, as he pressed a friend's hand, "Dying does not make me unhappy; it is the only honorable *rôle* left to men who have served their country and would see it respected." General Lefèbvre, who was then in Paris, and no less angered than the rest at the declamations of the journalists, often said, when with me, that he agreed with Marceau; that the generals were determined to expose themselves to death or to get their discharge; that the ill-will that pursued them was so damaging to their reputation solely because it felt itself supported by a section of the Government that had been influenced against them by misrepresentations; that the fact that a set of officers, moreover, having recently been despatched to the armies without having fought for liberty, usurped all the grades, was a cause of discontent to our brave soldiers. Lefèbvre was heard with an approval that so weighty an authority could not fail to obtain. After the various speeches against the Royalists, threats were more than once made to give effect to what had been said. Strokes with the flat of the sword, with stick and whip, were spoken of. It was thought by some that the last-mentioned would suffice for these wretched pamphleteers. It appears that at one of those military gatherings which took place at my house, and at other meetings where besides military men there were deputies and private citizens, it was boldly suggested that the journalists should be got rid of. Officers attached to Bonaparte (those, for instance, whom he always kept at Paris under various pretexts to further his policy) were especially struck by

the latest statements directed against the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy. Often, when mixing in society, they heard it remarked that they would be reproached with cowardice if they continued to put up with such infamy. Some among them even thought that they were laying themselves open to the anger of their master, who might accuse them of neglecting his instructions and of betraying the commission with which he had charged them, if they did not wreak their vengeance upon the journalists. It seems that the military men and deputies who were personally attached to me, and who looked with no favorable eye upon what every day was proposed and attempted to my prejudice, met the hired assassins and criminal agents of Bonaparte, and each party communicated its intentions to the other. The agents of Bonaparte confided their project of making an example of one of the notorious journalists. Poncelin, as an abbé, and as the principal proprietor of two anti-revolutionary newspapers, drew upon himself all the votes as the subject who should serve as the great example. Bonaparte's men proposed nothing less than the nets at St. Cloud. "That would cause no noise," they said, "and we have served many another in the same way for our general-in-chief." My friends thought this would be too harsh a lesson, and considered that even such a manifest demeanor as cold-blooded calumny ought not to be punished by crime. They made moral and humane observations, which the agents of Bonaparte, accustomed as they were to executions of a very different character, treated with the greatest contempt. They were willing, however, to agree that the abbé Pon-

celin should be thoroughly well beaten, not actually killed, but left as dead. This seemed no less terrible to my friends, who did not wish to defend my honor by such extreme measures. "Suppose," said one of them, "he were simply to be whipped?" The Bonapartists exclaimed that that would be a mere joke which might, perhaps, be rather agreeable than otherwise to the abbé Poncelin, who was known to be a man of very eccentric tastes. "A whip can be found which, if well applied, will," said another, "be no joking matter, and will not be at all to the taste of the abbé Poncelin. Besides, what we want is an example; and this will be afforded by punishment and humiliation." The last proposal was adopted, and it was decided the abbé Poncelin should be flogged. . . . The decision was carried out, as we have seen. I quite believe that those who took part in this singular work of pity and indulgence as compared with what Bonaparte's men wished done, really meant to avenge my reputation and to turn my presumed resentment to account. I was invested with great power; and I admit that under such circumstances there is among the friends who serve us more eagerness to satisfy our wishes and passions than if we had no means of recompensing them. But at the distance of time at which I am committing these circumstances to paper, and when whatever about them is deserving of reproach and even of blame is entitled to prescription both from justice and the memory of men, I swear that not only had I no concern in either the idea or the act of the flogging of M. Poncelin, but that I only heard of it when the first charge was made at the Directorate, while I did not know the circumstantial

details and the names of the men for some time afterwards. Hence at the time my defence was quite sincere, and I was entirely convinced of the innocence of my position. . . . When all was known to me, and when I learned that what was done was not done merely by young subalterns, but by men of mature age and holding high positions—knowing the generosity of their intentions, which served as an excuse for their thoughtlessness, taking into consideration the circumstances in which they were placed and the personal confidence that had, I knew, been placed in me—was it for me to reveal and subject to a court of justice what would no doubt have proved very culpable, but what nevertheless, in the light of all the sincere explanations that have been read, might well be susceptible of justly deserved pardon, as a compensation for a very real injury committed by the calumniators? The posterior circumstance presented in the letter written to me in the Year VII. by a certain Louis no doubt shows a refinement of subtle combination in the person who invented it in order to direct the proceedings against me. But we were at war with M. Poncelin and all those in league with him, who found in his accident a new motive for displaying their animosity. When defence thus became indispensable, one was, meseems, compelled to revert to the maxim, "Strength or cunning." One can at any rate fall back upon it when the war is only defensive. This is all I have to say in summing up the Poncelin affair.

CHAPTER XXI

Intrigues of "Cousin Jacques" relative to the peace with Portugal —The envoy Chors — Carnot — Motives of the intrigue — The Marquis del Campo—Negotiations with Sardinia—M. Balbo— The deputy Dumas's speech — It is inserted in the *Rédacteur*— This insertion is blamed and disavowed—The citizen Langlois— Unworthy proposition advanced by Rewbell and Larevellière— State of our navy—The journalists again—Projects against Rome —New form of worship proposed by Larevellière—The commissary Alexandre — Complaints of Lefèbvre against him — Constantly increasing pretensions of the Court of Prussia — Assassinations at Toulouse — Three royal commissaries arrested: Brottier, Dunan, Laville-Heurnois—Papers taken from the royal commissaries—The Royalists' plan—Their intentions in favor of Bénézech—Measures proposed by the Minister.

Theatre of the Arts—Report upon the Irish expedition—Decision of the Directorate as to the conspiracy of the Royalists—Discussion about the journalists—Strange mistake of Carnot's regarding Louvet and Poultier—Lively debates upon the troubles in the South—The Roman question to be brought to an end—New projects against Ireland and England—My remarks—Poli and Vauvilliers interrogated—The twelfth-cake—The Royalist conspirators tried—Letter to Bonaparte concerning the second treaty with Rome—The Minister of the Interior and the Minister of the king—Energetic proposal by Carnot against tax-payers in arrears —Transportation of the condemned persons.

The posts and relays — A new conspiracy — Mathieu Dumas, the Bishop of Autun, Montesquiou, Ségur, Rœderer, Mesdames d'Aiguillon, Valence, Lameth, and Belderbruck—The Orléanists —General Menou and the deputy Rovère—Military purging asked by Bonaparte — He marches upon Rome — Fanatical letters of Cardinal Rusca—Police reports—Demands of the Paris hospitals —M. Rivière de Vimoutiers—Manuscript found at Vauvilliers's house — Barrière, La Chaussée, and Debarre before a military council—Ratification of the treaty with Tuscany—La Porte and

Flachat accused of peculation—A contractor's remark—Project of war against America—Our demands as to Louisiana.

Singular exchange proposed by Carnot—Taking of Mantua—The ambassador Serbelloni—Bonaparte's designs against Italy—Clarke's complaints—An agent sent to the South—Dunan's portfolio.

Who Dunan was—Madame Nicolai and Jardin—Uncertain movement of the Cabinet of Berlin—M. d'Arengio—Intrigues of Chors in Portugal—Rassan and Topino-Lebrun—Lavauguyon junior—Tricks of the Royalists—Discussion about Mantua—Admirable plan of Hoche for the Rhine campaign—Proceedings against Admiral Bouvet—The commissary Giraud—Affairs in San Domingo—Carnot's extravagant project relative to the peace with Sardinia—Willot Inspector of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Carnot does not wish for war—The subsidiary service—Decree proposed by Carnot against those who fail to join their regiments—Invectives of Beurnonville against Moreau—The ambassador Balbo—Conspiracy against the King of Sardinia—Bonaparte incriminated—Denunciation of a Director by the *Ami des lois*—Intrigues of the Royalists to save the royal commissaries—Mysterious utterance of Bénézech—Mademoiselle Raucourt denounced—Embarrassment at the Treasury—Distress of the poor—Decree against the American ships—The Society of the Friends of Order—That of the Legitimate Sons—Troops sent into the South—Proclamation of Puisaye—Carnot defends the priests.

Hoche and Moreau—Reception of the flags from Italy—Revolutionary addresses—Letter from the municipality of Aix—General Canuel denounces enlisting for the benefit of the Bourbons—Fresh discussion about the intrigues of the priests—Letourneur on horseback again—A vexatious reflection.

It is not enough that we have disputes among ourselves, which ought at least to be as much confined within our walls as if they were family quarrels; their echo outside is still more unfortunate. Not only is the clamor magnified, the reality it reflects is propagated. My friends in the *corps législatif*, hearing of my debates with Carnot, would side against him. I restrain them, and keep them in

check, telling them, with a somewhat rough frankness, that they must keep quiet, that "it is no business of theirs." It does not appear that Carnot replies to me in the same way. His friends, at least, promise to write that in all their defamations they are goaded on rather than restrained. According to the deputy Bergoing, "Cousin Jacques" has said and written that peace with Portugal was deferred in order that I might not sign the treaty as president. A tool of his has, by an arrangement with Carnot, been sent to Lisbon with that object. His name is Chors. This man, Bergoing states, was turned out of America. Honorable Bordeaux citizens possess letters of Cousin Jacques's relative to this diplomatic trick. Bergoing offers to justify it. It can be seen by a letter from the Marquis del Campo that I entirely fall in with his views, as he was impatient to sign that peace. One can judge from the intrigue to defer it, as just pointed out, how the most worthy men may be led astray by their passions, and how these passions cause even their own plans to fail, since the very people who were always talking of their love of peace and the sacrifices that should be made for it, are those who stood in the way of its accomplishment by defaming the colleague whom they wished to deprive of the legitimate honor of signing a treaty of peace as president.

Negotiations of an alliance with Sardinia are resumed at Paris between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and M. Balbo.

A speech addressed by the deputy Dumas to the Council has been inserted in the *Rédacteur*. As the *Rédacteur* is our official journal, this insertion looks as if the Government approves of the speech. It

was Carnot who gave the order. He is disturbed at hearing this mode of proceeding blamed, which does not come within the powers of any individual member of the Directorate. We decide that this insertion shall be disavowed to-day in the *Rédacteur*.

The citizen Langlois, of the Gravilliers section, asks of the Directorate the post of commissary of his municipality. Rewbell and Larevellière reject this demand, notwithstanding the statement of the services rendered by him, on account of Langlois's connection with the journalist who edits the *Censeur*, M. Gallais; if, however, this Gallais will write in support of the Government, his *protégé* will be eventually nominated. I reply that I will have nothing to do with negotiating such an arrangement. I even think it too unworthy of the Directorate not to keep the matter secret.

Carnot and Letourneur think that the reverses of the Irish expedition might be atoned for by fresh naval undertakings. Rewbell and I are opposed to any experiment of the kind, seeing how badly off our navy is for both war material and men. I even require that, until it is put upon a proper footing, light vessels be equipped and the merchant service be supplied with war-sloops, which it shall arm while cruising. The Minister of Marine is to draw up a report hereupon.

Rewbell and I insist that the communication relative to the journalists be definitely sent to the Five Hundred. Carnot desires an adjournment, and Larevellière considers it necessary to wait until the Poncelin affair is cleared up. He asks that an express order be sent to Bonaparte to march upon Rome. I support the proposition. I think that

definite internal peace will have more guarantees for its re-establishment and duration when fanaticism has no longer a stronghold like Rome, where it can intrench itself, and whence it can constantly attack human reason, and seek to invade the temporalities, under pretext of defending the spiritualities. Rewbell is of my mind. Larevellière adds that he should wish to see a number of wise and enlightened men combine to prepare a work upon the establishment of a religious form of worship that could be carried out everywhere. Here we have Larevellière letting out his theophilanthropy. At the very moment when we are speaking of dealing judicially with the most ancient of Popes, it is proposed that a new one shall make his appearance in the midst of the Directorate! This notion of Larevellière's, which he had hitherto touched upon very superficially, is now advanced as something serious which he would have discussed at once. The matter is adjourned.

Since the power of the representatives of the people has ceased to be brought to bear upon the armies, the military chiefs, formerly trembling before that power, are now making a stand, and have shown a wish to "jib" (*se regimber*), as the expression goes, against all civil authority which has no longer the dictatorial character to which they formerly had to bend. Nothing could then surpass their docility and obedience. But now that they are let alone, nothing can equal their insolence. Whoever does not wear a military coat is an object of contempt. From this time dates the origin of the term *péguin*, which the generals bestow freely upon whatever, as has been wittily said, punning upon the word, "is

only civil." One of the most honorable generals of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, but whose character as a soldier gives him considerable freedom of speech, General Lefèbvre, pours forth a stream of brutal aspersions upon civilians. He declares to the Directorate that the commissary Alexandre has done more harm than the enemy to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse; that Carnot is wrong in giving his support to that man; that the army was several times on the point of arresting him, but feared being charged with rebellion. "And quite rightly," I said in a friendly tone to Lefèbvre. "The army is essentially *obedient*, and its first duty is to respect the civil authority. . . ."

The Prussian ambassador having, through his inquiries, come to the conclusion that internal divisions may arise in the Directorate, the Prussian Cabinet sees herein its advantage, and tries to put new difficulties in our way. This Cabinet appears to have adopted the system of making every month new claims upon the countries on this side the Rhine. To-day the woods are to be put under control, on the morrow the freedom of worship is advanced, and then the *fête* of the King of Prussia is to be celebrated in the presence of French Republicans; then come the questions of the collection of taxes and of the royal domains.

The town of Toulouse has just been the scene of further assassinations. Carnot attributes them to the anarchists. "We shall see," says Rewbell (as if he knew something about the coming outburst), "we shall see whether those whom you are constantly accusing are the criminals." Cochon at that moment asks leave to speak in order to inform the

Directorate of the arrest of three royal commissaries. The Minister will draw up a report, and take care that they do not make their escape.

A great number of Republican deputies come to the Directorate in the evening to express their satisfaction at the discovery and arrest of the three royal commissaries. They say, "At any rate they are not Jacobins."

At next day's sitting the Minister of Police reads papers found upon the royal commissaries. Their names are Brottier, Dunan, and Laville-Heurnois. In these documents are found a plan for bringing about the restoration of the monarchy; powers given by Louis XVIII. to the commissaries; proclamations addressed to the people; the reinstating of Ministers, with the exception of Bénézech; the journalists that are to be arrested—the Chouan journalists being retained. The Minister thinks that the Royalists' agents should be arraigned before a military commission for having acted as recruiting agents. Carnot, by way, no doubt, of compensation, considers it necessary to report that many old Marseilles soldiers are in Paris. "Possibly," I reply, "since Willot lets them be murdered in the South by the Royalists." A very disquieting letter from the Mayor of Aix supports my opinion. Rewbell thinks that the Minister Bénézech and others named in the documents should be provisionally arrested, their papers examined, and all the letters addressed to the royal commissaries and their accomplices seized at the post-office. A general is compromised in this conspiracy. Rewbell believes that it is Kellermann, brother-in-law of Barbé-Marbois, appointed later on one of Louis XVIII.'s Ministers. Malo having

given too much publicity to this affair, the arrest of the commissaries has disturbed the measures taken to seize their accomplices. Their correspondence seems to have been abstracted. Rewbell asks that the police agents be placed in their residences, in order that new arrivals may be examined; that the relations of those journalists whom the royal commission has exempted from its harsh measures be placed under surveillance; that a proclamation be made to the French upon the position of the Republic; and that Willot be definitely replaced in the South. The whole matter is to be discussed to-morrow.

Since the overthrow of the monarchy the Opéra, formerly known as the Royal Academy of Music, has been called the *Théâtre des Arts*. As of old, this luxurious theatre has not been able to meet its expenses, and has incessantly had recourse to the Government for very heavy subsidies. The Directorate, in taking into consideration the case of this theatre, requires that its denomination, at least, should emanate from the Republic. The Directorate determines that in future the *Théâtre des Arts* shall be known as the *Théâtre de la République et des Arts*.

I gave a very hurried account of the Irish expedition, employing the disconnected facts that have come to our knowledge. The Minister of Marine, Truguet, was directed to prepare for us a general report upon that unfortunate undertaking. In the statement he lays before us there is no mention of our losses, nor of the honorable fight of Lacrosse. This may be due to the reticence of a French heart deeply grieved; and I would excuse Truguet on

this ground. Rewbell does not agree with me. He is angry at this forgetfulness. No one speaks further; and Truguet promises to complete his report. Rewbell says, dryly, "And let it give the truth!"

13th Pluviôse, Year V.—The Minister of Police sends to the Directorate further information about the Royalist conspiracy. The royal commissaries admit that the signature is that of Louis XVIII. It is decided to print all the documents seized, and reference to the legislative body follows the discussion about the journalists, whose understanding with the Royalists has seemed to necessitate their surveillance and arrest. Letourneur and Carnot think this measure would be dangerous and unjust, even if it went no further than surveillance, unless Louvet, and especially Poultier, are included. Such a mode of reconciling matters could not be expected. Rewbell remarks that the two individuals who are the objects of Carnot's hatred are condemned to death by the Royalist commissaries, while the others whom Carnot protects are honorably mentioned.

It appears from letters recently received from Willot himself, and addressed to Carnot, that the assassinations in the South are still going on: the patriots are oppressed, and the Royalists, who are supported, triumph. A substitute for Willot is an urgent necessity. The only means whereby quiet and confidence can be restored in these unhappy countries is to send out a general who is a Republican with no party leanings. Carnot still opposes angrily Willot's being thus replaced. The debate grows lively. Carnot denied a little time ago the reality of the Royalist machinations. But are not

the proofs now clear enough? Rewbell attacks Carnot and Letourneur as enemies of liberty. The Minister of Justice and the police officials will prepare a circumstantial report upon the disorders which have so long troubled the South.

While Carnot and Letourneur show themselves so much occupied about the enterprises of the anarchists, Larevellière-Lépeaux is busying himself with what specially exercises him — namely, what seems to him the greatest of all dangers, the existence of the Catholic sway, which has its seat at Rome. Notwithstanding the permanent opposition of the two ordinary members, Carnot and Letourneur, who favor the papal government, the Directorate, on the motion of Larevellière, writes to Bonaparte to deal with Rome with a high hand.

The new report upon the unfortunate Irish expedition proves that it did not fail through being badly planned, but simply through the weakness and want of skill of certain agents. By guarding beforehand against certain known obstacles, we may entertain a well-founded hope to be less unsuccessful when we renew the attempt, animated by an ardent desire to atone for the first check and to heighten our glory. The Minister Truguet lays before us the project of a fresh expedition against Ireland and England, planned upon the largest scale. It would embrace "at least" all our ships, carrying 45,000 soldiers of the line. Letourneur and Carnot incline to the proposition; I regret that on this occasion I do not share their magnanimous disposition, and that I am obliged to oppose it. Having been wellnigh brought up as a sailor, I should be above all men glad to see our navy deal a

severe blow against the English, towards whom I perhaps entertain the prejudice of hereditary hatred. But in order to attain peace we ought, in my opinion, to begin by being masters on the Continent and completing the conquest of Austria. By this course we should even strike the English, of whom Austria is but an ally depending upon their subsidies. Look, for instance, at the eight millions still asked for the clothing and general needs of the soldiers who are dying of cold on the banks of the Rhine! When once the war on the Continent is ended, the time will have come to take England in hand. Larevellière gives way to my opinion. The decision is adjourned.

Among the Royalist commissaries already mentioned is a certain Poli, a plotter from it is not known what German state, who was arrested for anti-revolutionary machinations in the days before the Directorate. The Minister of Police reads an interrogatory to which this Poli and Vauvilliers were subjected. The former states that he had eaten of the twelfth-cake at the house of M. ——. Asked if there were one or several deputies there, he answered that he did not know all the guests. The Royalist correspondence often compromises the editor of the *Courrier républicain.* Poli declares that he was charged with a letter for Carnot, which he had not yet delivered. The Directorate orders that the Royalist conspirators be indicted forthwith before a military council.

Following up his fixed idea against the Roman Government, Larevellière submits to the Directorate his letter to Bonaparte in which he informs him as to the definite course he should take with regard to

Rome. The letter is adopted. I add the amendment that Bonaparte be authorized to establish a Republican government at Rome, recognized by us as suitable and useful. The word "republican" is alone rejected; the rest is agreed to. It will be seen that the Directorate, so greatly accused of propagandism, is much less wanting than its enemies in that moderation about which the latter, who have always been hostile to liberty, have declaimed so much. The Minister of the Interior, described in the conspiracy as "Bénézech, Minister of the King," has been compelled, on his arriving in Belgium, to open the coffers of the paymasters and tax-collectors in order that the public service may not be interrupted. Carnot considers the course of the Minister quite lawful; but he would have the goods sold of all those who are behindhand with any of their payments. These great financial views do not allow him to lose sight of the anarchists, even of those who have been so severely sentenced. Carnot and Letourneur require the execution of the sentence of transportation passed against the condemned persons, especially those involved in the Grenelle affair. I ask that there should be added to the order for their being sent to Cayenne a provision for their receiving soldiers' rations, and every month money for their absolute needs.

The Minister of Finance is highly pleased with the commission of this department, the opinion of which is, as is that of the Directorate, that the posts and relays should be supplied by contract.

The Directorate is warned of a conspiracy of a novel character, the principal members of which meet in the Rue de Provence, No. 16. Mathieu

Dumas, the Bishop of Autun, Montesquiou, Ségur, Rœderer, Mesdames Valence, Lameth, Belderbruck, and others are mentioned. The notion of these new conspirators is that the Five should be replaced by One, and that then the machinery would work without friction. It is quite true that all the personages denounced are people whose ambition urges them to every kind of intrigue, and of whom one can say that they will not rest or cease to plot until they have worked their way into the business of the Government. But I consider that their plottings are a long way from becoming a conspiracy, and that these gentlemen should be left to busy themselves in the more or less petty sphere of their intrigues. If these men, who have at heart no noble aspirations, and who have only their own interests in view, were to take action seriously, they would be the first to denounce one another, and we should make short work of them. I spoke thus because I had received from several of them, directly or indirectly, confidential communications, the object of which was to make them seem necessary in my eyes, and to get me to place them in the service of the Directorate. My opinion as to the relations between them was so largely based upon precedent that at the very moment when I was speaking we got proofs that it was well founded. The Minister of Police comes to tell us that General Menou had been to him to denounce Rovère, Menou affirming that this deputy belonged to the Royalist faction. One of his friends, a Norman noble, had been taken into Rovère's confidence: he betrayed it to Menou, and this is how Menou dealt with it.

The officer charged with presenting the flags of

the Army of Italy submits a letter from Bonaparte. He complains that a number of cowardly and ignorant generals have been sent to him. He gives a long list of them, and requests that they be recalled to the country. It is in consequence of such bad choice of officers that our armies become disorganized. The reproach seems to be addressed to Carnot. He replies that the officers against whom exception is taken were suggested to him by deputies. The Minister of War is to give prompt instructions with a view to purging the army of abuses.

Bonaparte announces to us that he is marching upon Rome. Letters of Cardinal Rusca have been intercepted, the gist of which is that a religious war must be organized against the French, who are miscreants. "I told you how it would be," exclaims Larevellière. "This is the Catholic religion!"

When the police seem to have disposed of their budget of conspiracies, it reverts to the ordinary theme which has from the first busied the implacable enemies of the Revolution. It consists in placing before disturbed imaginations the spectre of the Orléans faction. According to the Minister of Police, the Orléanists are now making a move. He says that Lyons and Marseilles are agitated by the Royalists and anarchists, who are equally numerous and dangerous. He associates with these agitators at home officers fighting on the frontier. He mentions General Lefèbvre as a furious Jacobin, and declares that the Sambre-et-Meuse army are adherents of the anarchist faction. As an outcome of all these perturbations in the name of anarchy, Letourneur, whose imagination is disturbed, got up hurriedly in the night, alarmed by a noise he had

heard in the street. He ascertained that the noise which awakened him was caused by a cavalry patrol.

A secret agent has been arrested in the Army of Italy. When on the point of being hanged, he stated that he was charged to make overtures for peace. A messenger was sent at once to prevent this agent from being put to death, and to secure for him humane treatment. Bonaparte replies that he had already shared our opinion hereupon, and that he quite hopes, by means of certain measures, to get out of this individual anything of importance he has to communicate. There are certain infallible methods, of which he is a master, for making people speak. Bonaparte probably knows more on this subject than all the religious and political inquisitors put together.

Notwithstanding the preference which Willot, in his reports, wishes to give to the Royalists as against the Jacobins, he readily admits that, as stated in our despatches, several persons from among the "people" have been assassinated. The distinction is wide and curious. Rewbell remarks that the victims are always patriots. Will the Directorate delay taking proceedings until the Royalists are in power?

19th Pluviôse, Year V.—The Minister of Finance brings forward the new claims of those who administer the Paris hospitals. They ask for the control of the Mont-de-Piété. This matter will be settled on the 29th.

A M. Rivière de Vimoutiers wrote to me some days before the discovery of the Royalist conspiracy to put me on my guard against what was being plotted. He has come to give me the names of the men who robbed the Caen diligence, and to inform

me about the mobs which have again begun to gather in Normandy against the Republic. I refer M. de Vimoutiers to the Minister of Police.

The Minister of Police reads a manuscript found at Vauvilliers's. A unique representative assembly is discussed in this document in which all authority shall be vested. This paper is to be sent to the Councils.

Barrière, La Chaussée, and Debarre are brought before a military council. This matter is much debated at the Council of Five Hundred. Carnot considers that the anarchist conspiracy is too much neglected. Must we keep on forever reminding him that his old friends of the Committee of Public Safety are at the head of this faction?

20th Pluviôse, Year V.—The contractors La Porte and Flachat, accused of bribery in Italy, have just been arrested in Paris. They protest against their dismissal. Carnot fears that such a measure may compromise the Directorate. The risk of striking a blow at men of wealth requires, he says, great precautions, what with their accomplices and the power their very depredations give them. We must not forget what Villars's contractor said when threatened by him: "Monseigneur, there is no fear of being hanged when one has a hundred thousand crowns at the service of the king." That is to say, one need not in such case fear the arm of the law.

The Minister of Marine submits a long memorandum, the adoption of which would mean war with the Anglo-Americans. Carnot, the friend of peace and morality, is favorably inclined towards this war. "We might, at least, possess ourselves provisionally of their ships," he says. I pretend to no such lofty

policy, being far from thinking that the reasons urged are sufficient to draw us into such a conflict. Apart from its injustice, the unfortunate consequences it would entail may be assumed. Our colonies depend for their existence upon American supplies, which we cannot do without. I ask that the proposition be not further discussed. It is adjourned.

The Directorate had energetically required that Spain should give up Louisiana. The Madrid Cabinet still refuses, unless an indemnity is given. Carnot would give Italy in exchange. Such a proposal discloses his fixed idea of sacrificing those poor Italians. I must give my colleagues the credit of acknowledging that this fear sufficed to cause them there and then to give up the project of the cession of Louisiana. The Directorate would not purchase the finest country in the world at such a price.

21st Pluviôse, Year V.—The taking of Mantua has been announced by a messenger despatched to the ambassador Serbelloni. Bonaparte writes from Bologna that the troops of the Republic are entering Romagna. He proposes to cede the state of Milan to the emperor, and to organize a republic consisting of Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, Modena, and Romagna.

Clarke writes to Letourneur and Carnot complaining bitterly that his mission to Italy gives him a quite secondary part to play. We ask that the letters be read. This is refused. They contain matters hidden from the Directorate.

The blood of the patriots still flows in the South. Instead of taking any repressive measures, Willot has allowed the Royalist party to establish its position. He begins to be himself very uncomfortable about his own work; but there is a wish that he

should remain in his division. It is simply decided that a secret agent shall be sent who will inform us directly about the position of those parts—namely, M. Cadet.

The former mayor of Calais brings a portfolio belonging to Dunan, one of the three Royalist commissaries who have been arrested, and with it, at the same time, 24,000 francs obtained from the same source, together with a letter written by Madame Dunan while in England, where her husband stayed for three months. Dunan is an assumed name; the true name of the conspirator is Duverne de Presle.

The Minister of Police denounces the director of the Hospital of Saint-Cyr, whom he caught giving passes for the Chouans of La Vendée. He is associated with Jardin, of the *Courrier républicain.* Agents are sent to Saint-Germain to the house of Madame Nicolaï, where Jardin must be at this moment. The King of Prussia is marching upon Nuremberg. He pretends that the object of this march is to menace Austria. The Cabinet of Berlin, always undecided, will not assert itself really in favor of the Republic until, victorious everywhere, she will no longer have anything to fear, and will be able to make herself feared.

M. d'Arengio, the Portuguese ambassador, in a private conversation at my house which he asked of me, has informed me that Chors, the agent of the Republic at Lisbon, was an intriguer who had no standing at his court; that he owed his post to a manœuvre of "Cousin Jacques," the friend of Carnot; and that sums of money have been promised, and even deposited, to maintain the intrigues that have been begun. M. d'Arengio declares formally

that he possesses proofs of his statements. I give an account of this communication to the Directorate at a secret sitting. The personal feeling against those inculpated that might be attributed to me with regard to this matter prevents my following it up. It is decided that the Minister of Foreign Affairs shall confer with M. d'Arengio, I having refused to do so, and afterwards submit the measures he proposes should be taken.

Rassal and Topino-Lebrun have informed Larevellière that the partisans of Louis XVIII. endeavor to unite with the anarchists; that England supports, encourages, and pays whatever tends to trouble France; and that Lavauguyon junior has confirmed their opinion.

22d Pluviôse, Year V.—Carnot thinks that Mantua should be dismantled. I consider that this place should be preserved as a bulwark of the Italian Republic. Carnot says that Mantua should be offered to the Duke of Parma; others suggest the King of Sardinia. It is further thought that it might be ascertained whether Spain would wish for Sardinia for the Duke of Parma; that the king should have Mantua in place of Piedmont; that in this case Spain and Sardinia should recognize and guarantee the Cispadan Republic, to which the States of the Pope would be added. These propositions will be discussed at future sittings.

General Hoche has submitted his plan of campaign on the Rhine. This admirable work is that of a man who understands both war and politics. The plan is adopted with unanimous admiration and thanks.

Truguet and Letourneur consider that Admiral

Bouvet should be dismissed for his conduct in the Irish expedition; and that he ought not to be put upon his trial, as he might be acquitted. Rewbell asks for a written report from the Minister.

Giraud, the commissary at San Domingo, is admitted to the Directorate. He proves that the disunion among the colonial commission is the cause of the evils that trouble the country. Santhonax has used his influence to remove the men who would have been able to put everything on a friendly footing. The commission which had nominated them afterwards set them aside in favor of those preferred by Santhonax.

The discussion is renewed as to the instructions given to Clarke. Carnot wishes to add that he will propose Mantua to the King of Sardinia, who by ceding Sardinia proper to Spain would remain King of Piedmont or King of Italy, at his option. In exchange, Louisiana would be ceded to us. The Directorate is on the point of adopting this extravagant proposal.

The Minister of War thinks that Willot can do no good in the South. We add that, as a matter of fact, he is doing much harm. Carnot, not being able to support him against the unanimous feeling of discontent, proposes that a letter expressing satisfaction should be written to his favorite general. The majority of the Directorate agrees, and Carnot takes advantage of this concession to obtain Willot's nomination as Inspector of the Sambre-et-Meuse army.

Carnot continues to denounce what he calls "the systematic carrying on of war." "Would you," he says, "go to war for the sake of the people of Italy,

a miserable herd made up of nothing but cowards and traitors? As for me," he again declares, "I would give both Italy and the left bank of the Rhine to the emperor if he would conclude peace."

Carnot lays before us the scheme of an enactment directed against those defaulters who have been "requisitioned" for the army and have failed to join their regiments. Among other measures, he proposes to insert in the list of *émigrés* those who have not joined. I oppose this atrocious method. "Dismiss," I say, "the authorities and the gendarmerie who suffer the laggards in their communes." Carnot replies to me, "That, too, was my opinion. The scheme had been submitted to me." The Minister of War will make a report.

Would any one believe that Beurnonville, in his bitter complaint against Moreau, dares to treat him as a mere boy who has committed nothing but follies in dealing with an army of more than 60,000 men? He attacks Moreau's retreat, which there has been a desire to regard as honorable. But men in the service will see their way to blaming the most brilliant retreat when he who has conducted it is at the head of so formidable an army as that of the Rhine.

25th Pluviôse, Year V.—The Sardinian ambassador Balbo asks to be admitted to the Directorate upon very pressing business. He reads a despatch to the effect that his king has been exposed to great dangers; that a conspiracy has been formed; that it was proposed to fire upon the king and his suite while at chapel; and that, if not killed, the king should be arrested and made to sign his abdication. This project only failed to succeed through a mis-

understanding. Certain persons have been arrested. The leader of this plot seems to be one Bartède, who gave himself out as an agent of the Republic and of the French ambassador. The Directorate replied that the matter should be inquired into, and that the King of Sardinia might rest assured of its good-will. Balbo spoke very strongly of certain writings that have appeared at Milan, and the audacity of which can only be explained by their having been authorized and encouraged by the General-in-Chief of the Army in Italy.

The polemical articles in the newspapers still exercise the imagination of Carnot. He reads us one from the *Ami des lois* in which it is stated that a member of the Directorate, known for the ill-will he bears the patriots of the Councils, has undertaken, on his own authority, to prosecute more than a hundred and fifty deputies. A very formidable accumulation of hatred this! Carnot believes that the editor Poultier refers to him, in order constantly to hold him up as the proper object of the assassins' daggers.

But while Carnot would believe that he is the focus of the designs of the anarchists, the Royalists are bestirring themselves in every possible way, in the hope of averting from the Royalist commissaries the adverse sentence of the courts before which they have had to appear. An attempt is being made to intimidate the members of the military council, and reliance is placed on the decision of the court of appeal, which, the appellants would show, have established precedents bearing upon the question at issue. Bénézech draws up to me, and says in a whisper, "We are walking over a volcano; it is

time that the Directorate took vigorous measures." I repeat the observation aloud. In order to maintain the anti-Royalist *rôle* which he would assume in order to shield himself from complicity in the conspiracy, the Minister of the Interior denounces Mademoiselle Raucourt, the manageress of that Théâtre Louvois where, we have seen, were on one occasion distributed tickets and checks bearing the king's likeness. "This lady wishes," he says, "to have Royalist plays acted. It is very important that this theatre, which is the rendezvous of all the friends of royalty, be kept under supervision." He adds that the plays which tell against the Republic are very much patronized by carriage folk. To this grievous intelligence the Minister thinks it his duty to add that the Treasury will pay nothing in support of the public organization, including that for the relief of the poor. I ask that a communication be sent to the legislative body informing it of the deplorable condition of the poorer classes, who are perishing for want of aid. This is adopted.

Upon the report of the Minister of Marine, the Directorate declares that American ships carrying provisions shall be lawful prizes.

The Minister of Police states that many intrigues are at this moment employed to excite a rising in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. He reads a regulation of the Society of the so-called *Amis de l'Ordre* directed against the Jacobins. It is the novitiate for admission to the Society of the *Fils légitimes*, who take an oath of "Attachment to Royalty and to Louis XVIII." The *Amis de l'Ordre* have signs by which they recognize one another, and oaths taken upon admission to their

society resembling those of freemasonry. The *Fils légitimes* are the sole possessors of the secret, the principal aim for the present being to influence the primary and electoral assemblies. To give a purely hypothetical motive for their association, they say that its one object is a defensive one, in case the Jacobins should come down upon them in force. This sophism as to the defensive is a common one with aggressors, which, in the expectancy of defeat, they keep in reserve. Without blaming the intentions of the Minister and his officious zeal, of which he gives us daily repeated proofs, I think it would be well if we could see him act more, and talk (and cause us to talk) less about the medley of intrigues he is constantly reporting to us. I require that the Minister possess himself of the places of meeting he has indicated, and that he ascertain precisely what goes on in the societies which he has denounced.

In consequence of fresh information which reaches us as to the perturbed condition of the South, the Directorate decrees that in order to tranquillize that region General Kellermann shall, if possible, convey 1200 men into the departments of Vaucluse and the Bouches-du-Rhône.

Puisaye has addressed a proclamation to the faithful friends of Louis XVIII. of the departments of the West. It states that he counts greatly upon the influence of the "priests." Larevellière, whose philosophy, generally of an angry character, becomes convulsive when he hears priests spoken of, wishes an instruction relative to these facts sent to the legislative body. He connects them unhesitatingly with the accursed Court of Rome. Carnot opposes

this new act, with all the publicity to which it would be exposed; to take such special account of the matter would, he considers, amount to systematic persecution of the priests, who do not do as much harm as is reported "if they are compared with the anarchists and Jacobins."

The Directorate has invited the two generals Hoche and Moreau to meet and come to a mutual understanding as to the execution of the plan of campaign on the upper and lower Rhine upon which they are to enter.

30th Pluviôse, Year V.—The flags of the Army of Italy have been received with enthusiasm. Rewbell has made a speech full of the purest sentiments in favor of liberty. This called a revolutionary speech!

The municipality of Aix writes that the boldness of the Royalists is caused by the protection they get from the military and judicial authorities. It deplores the misfortunes of a country which is continually a prey to action and reaction.

An attempt has been made at Lyons to enlist for Louis XVIII. the soldiers of the Republic and the volunteers on their way to join the Army of Italy. This fact is communicated by General Canuel, who is in command at Lyons. Referred, together with the denunciation from Aix, to the Minister of Police.

Larevellière desires to recall the attention of the Directorate to the communication relative to the priests. Carnot assures us that the Councils would not take any proceedings in the matter, and that any action on our part is therefore impossible. Rewbell maintains the contrary opinion, especially

if those papers are annexed which have recently come to hand, and which prove what an advance the conspiracy of the priests against the Republic is making.

Letourneur interrupts the discussion to inform us that, having heard of fresh designs of the anarchists against his person, he took the course of confronting the danger, and had that morning ridden through the streets of Paris on horseback. Everywhere both he and his escort were treated respectfully and saluted. Just what one might expect of a poltroon suddenly inspired with courage! "And so," says Rewbell, ironically, "you have condescended to take a ride!" Oh! if at the moment when the Directorate commands the respect of Europe—if at the moment when all the powers sue for the honor of our alliance—if they only knew what went on in our midst, and how their passions dwarf these fine men who, if they could but act in unison, might hold in their hands the destinies of the world! If this magnificent opportunity of organizing liberty on earth escape us, in how many thousand years will it be offered again to the human race? What probability is there of its ever recurring?

CHAPTER XXII

Relations with Berlin—The ambassador Caillard—Bonaparte's rapid march—His successes cause umbrage—Carnot's constant apprehensions—Louisiana and Sardinia—The election proclamation—"Patriot" and "Republican"—M. Villeneuve Flammarens—Enterprises against the Pope—M. Ramsat—The deputy Charlier and the Minister Cochon—A suicide—Note from the Prince of the Peace on Portugal—Lively alarms about a dinner—The Marseillais threaten Rewbell and me—Marmont's patriotic vehemence—Return to favor of certain *émigrés*—Measures relative to the contractors—The dinner at *La Polonaise*—Carnot's fears—Delicate attentions of the Minister of Police on his behalf—Police revelations—Limodin—Dunan's real name—His avowals—Sale of *émigrés'* houses—Bassal and Lavauguyon junior—Alarming reports of the Minister of Police—Heroic devotion of Letourneur—He wishes to patrol—Fresh alarms—A flagrant Royalist conspiracy—Circumstantial report of Dunan on this subject.

1st and 2d Ventôse.—A letter from Caillard, our envoy at Berlin, further testifies to the indecision of the Prussian Cabinet, and to its chronic astonishment at the Directorate's insisting on obtaining the Rhine boundary. Carnot wishes to declare frankly to the King of Prussia that we wish solely to keep the united countries. "The silence of the Minister Lacroix on that head," says Carnot, "retards a peace which would have been signed a year ago if this explanation had been given—if the sacrifice of the Rhine had been agreed to, together with the independence of Italy, and the cession of everything; and so an end." Rewbell refutes Carnot, and proves

to him that the Directorate had long reserved to itself the right of negotiation, particularly as to all the non-united countries; and that if their enemies had wished for peace, they would have obtained it. As to the Minister Lacroix, the silence of which Carnot complains was an actual duty. If he had not maintained it, what would he have been but a prevaricator, whom the Directorate would have no other choice than unhesitatingly to put upon his trial as such?

Bonaparte is advancing upon Rome. He is master of Ancona and Loretto. His successes do not seem to please all the members of the Directorate equally. Carnot says that there are victories which greatly complicate business by retarding all possibilities of coming to terms, and that Bonaparte is much more concerned for his own glory than for that of the Republic. We all look at one another on hearing the latter words, and we tell Carnot that when he expresses such sentiments he will find us all at one in regarding liberty as our sacred aim, to the exclusion of every personal interest. As to Bonaparte's march, it is the result of a combination of circumstances which it was impossible to avert. In war the defender becomes the aggressor; this is the course taken by victory, which often finds no safety but in conquest: the goal must be passed before a definite boundary can be fixed upon.

Perhaps one could get Carnot to think rationally about politics as well as war if he did not derive his political system from his own prejudices. He always insists that Fréron, Tallien, Poultier, and Louvet are conspiring against him. These tiresome repetitions of the old, old tale are unbearable. I beg

that there may be an end to vague accusations, and that facts and documents inculpating these citizens may be produced. The Directorate could then come to a decision. Until it does, it ought not to suffer at every sitting a discharge of passion to be hurled against estimable Republicans who, being absent, are powerless to defend themselves. The better course would be to warn the citizens of the designs of the Royalist conspirators. The Minister of Justice will present a report relative to the *émigrés* who have not been definitely struck off the list.

3d Ventôse, Year V.—Instructions are sent to the French ambassador in Spain as to the projected exchange of Louisiana for Sardinia, which would be ceded to the Duke of Parma, and Mantua to the King of Sardinia, who would then be simply the King of Piedmont.

The discussion upon the election proclamation is renewed. The form suggested by Carnot is adopted. The word "republican" is to be substituted for "patriot."

Carnot, acting independently, has appointed brigade-major a certain M. Villeneuve Flammarens. This is not the custom of the Directorate, where, consistently with our institution as a body and with our practical jurisprudence, it is a recognized principle that no appointment, civil or military, can be made save by the majority of the assembled Directorate, the number being prescribed by the Constitution of the Year III., the special article of which on this point is continually referred to at the head of our acts. Notwithstanding all the simplicity of his private life and his genuine purity, there is in

Carnot's domineering character and in the habits he contracted at the Committee of Public Safety, where he was the Director of War, a tendency which often leads him to act on his own responsibility. Thus, without any reference to us, and by means of a simple report sent by his authority to the Minister of War, he took upon himself this nomination. I decline to sign the despatch of the nomination made by Carnot alone. It is adjourned.

It is agreed with the ambassador Serbelloni that Bonaparte shall despatch the Lombard legion towards Rome; that it shall incite that city to revolt; and that the Pope shall be replaced by a provisional government.

A M. Ramsat, a Piedmontese, has greatly misconducted himself at Milan. Bonaparte will have him arrested and sent into France.

The Deputy Charlier visited the Minister Cochon at two o'clock in the morning. He asked to see him, showed him his pistols, threatened him, and then went home and blew out his brains., Cochon infers from this act, which was nothing else than that of a madman, that his life is menaced. He thinks of asking for a guard, like Cardinal Richelieu.

We receive a communication from the Prince of Peace relative to Portugal. It is very obscure, and speaks of the king's dislike to engaging in war with that power. If France required the expulsion of the English, in conformity with the secret treaty of peace, the prince would wish to know how many troops the French Republic would furnish, if they would consist of seasoned regiments, and if their discipline could be relied upon. To sum up, he still hopes that the Directorate will not wish hostile measures

to be taken against Portugal. The Minister Lacroix is to sound the Portuguese ambassador, M. d'Arengio, in order to ascertain if he can treat for the exclusion of the English from the Portuguese ports.

With regard to the dinner it is proposed to give to the deputies, Carnot points out that it would be dangerous to bring together in the same room the legislators and the Government—the anarchists are so terrible! Letourneur adds that a single barrel of gunpowder would be enough to blow up the house where they were dining. "That is probable," says Carnot; "and we will not go, even if you should decide upon the invitation." Our two colleagues seem to screw themselves into their seats as if some one wished to tear them away.

The Minister Cochon does not seem to know any better what his spies tell him than what he says himself. It is, however, pretty clear that whenever he wishes to pay his court to any of us, he thinks to attain his object by making reports to us which inform us of personal dangers. He declares to-day, as a matter of importance, that yesterday some Marseillais were heard to say in a café that Rewbell and Barras ought to be got rid of.

Although the military hierarchy directs the secondary officers only to correspond with the Government through their chiefs, Brigade-Major Marmont considers that his patriotism and devotion allow his breaking those rules of general subordination. He is a good enough revolutionist to have the right to dispense with them. Marmont writes vehemently against General Dumas, whose qualities as a soldier and a patriot he calls in question. At that time

M. Marmont was somewhat exacting on both these heads.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Police protest against the return to France of the *émigrés* who were at Hamburg and Bremen. The two Ministers agree to watch the conduct of those whom they have denounced. Carnot proposes the military administration of the countries between the Meuse and the Rhine. At a time when the armies encamped in those regions are in such a miserable state through the fault of the contractors, I propose to take a very simple measure against those whose exactions are disastrous. My plan is to send to each army an agent carrying documents relative to the provisions, and produced in Paris by the payers. It will be the business of these agents to verify on the registers of the staffs of the divisional generals of the commissaries and of the store-keepers that the objects mentioned have been really furnished to the troops. The operation will show that the total of many supplies that have been, or should have been, despatched has not been delivered. Carnot's proposition and my own are adopted. But its being sent to the War Office does not allow me to hope anything will come of it. It is a case in which accomplices are put in the position of judges.

6th Ventôse, Year V.—The question of the dinner at *La Polonaise*, arranged for the 9th, is again discussed. Letourneur and Carnot dread that day. They propose patrols, doubling the guard-house service, and a thorough searching of the quarries where the Terrorists assemble. In spite of Letourneur, Cochon will have the courage to go to this dinner which has so much occupied the Directorate. The

banquet will take place at *La Polonaise*. . . . But if the Minister has no fear for himself, accustomed as he is to make his way through all sorts of plots, he cannot feel so assured where the Directors are concerned. Cochon fears lest Carnot should be assassinated in one of the audiences given by the members of the Directorate. Appreciating the forethought of the Minister, Carnot answers, " It will be my turn tomorrow." This he says with much pathos, as if his colleagues should see in him one who said: " But a little time, and you shall see me no more." As personal matters always take precedence, the Minister begins with the delicate attention of informing Carnot that he would be assassinated. He proceeds to public business, and informs us that, according to a revelation made at the *bureau central* to Limodin (*sic*) by one of the royal commissaries, Dunan, whose name I have already stated is Duverne de Presle, he is now the first to make an avowal declaring that he is known to several deputies, particularly to Dumas. He asserts that eighty-four deputies have sent their oaths of allegiance, signed, to Louis XVIII. He promises, if his life is spared and he is sentenced to be transported only, to disclose the names of the Royalist conspirators. Limodin says he considers that royalism is not dangerous, and Carnot thinks he is right. Rewbell suspects among the Chouan deputies Barbé-Marbois and Dumas. Carnot speaks in their defence, and designates Louvet, Poultier, and the Montagnards rather than the Clichiens. Letourneur thinks that all the parties, or at least all the chiefs, should be arrested. The Minister of Police will keep under surveillance the Royalists inculpated by the informer.

7th Ventôse, Year V.—The Minister of Finance is commissioned to present an order decreeing the sale of the houses of *émigrés*.

"Bassal has undertaken," says the Minister of Police, "to cause Lavauguyon junior to be arrested." He says that the president of the disastrous commission of the 3d Prairial was walking yesterday in the Tuileries in red-heeled boots.

The indefatigable Minister of Police insists that there are to be risings in Paris from the 8th to the 10th Ventôse, to which the Royalists are rallying. A patriot has been assassinated at Avignon. Letourneur says, "I am uneasy about the dinner at *La Polonaise*.[1] I shall be up and on the alert." Ever since Letourneur, during the last few days, went out in the morning and was saluted in the streets, he feels sure of the affection of his people. He is always talking of another ride on horseback. He even says, "I will patrol, if necessary."

All these fears appear to me to be extremely exaggerated. The desire is to mislead the patriots, so that there may be an affray like that of Grenelle. I request that the Minister of Police send trustworthy agents to the faubourgs to forewarn the workmen and patriots. If after the people of Paris are enlightened, the ringleaders of mischief make a stir and arm themselves, we shall defeat them. Carnot and Letourneur are not reassured. They wish it to be put down in writing that the public safety requires that the Directorate remain in its place. All that I can do is to get the words "public safety" omitted.

[1] *La Polonaise*, a restaurant of the period.—Translator's note.

8th and 9th Ventôse, Year V.—The Minister of Police submits the declaration of Duverne de Presle, formerly known under the name of Dunan. Even before his life is promised him, this accommodating conspirator begins with a general denunciation of all his accomplices of various ranks in every part of France. He has furnished the names, residences, and means of each one of them. The outcome of all this information is that royalism, disseminated far and wide, is in a state of downright conspiracy. . . . The details which Dunan supplies against his mandatories, whom he betrays so odiously, and against his accomplices, whom he delivers up with the basest *sang-froid*, are of so great interest that I give them in their entirety.

DOCUMENT RELATIVE TO THE ROYALIST CONSPIRACY, ANNEXED TO THE SECRET REGISTER OF THE DIRECTORATE. 11th Ventôse, Year V.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR.

First Declaration of Duverne de Presle or Dunan.

Elections made through the influence of Blankenburg. They are the work of secret clubs of Royalists known under the names of *Instituts des Amis de l'ordre* and *des Fidèles.*

The leaders of the two Councils, sold to Blankenburg, are not representatives of the people, but of the Royalists.

Citizen,

I do not disguise from myself, in beginning this communication, that I am placing in your hands my sentence of condemnation. But, although far from indifferent to my personal interests, I am so persuaded that it is quite other than a personal motive which has determined me to take a step which is so liable to misinterpretation, that I should not hesitate to adopt it even if I were not reassured by the promise you have made to me.

Many attempts have been made since the Revolution to restore the throne. All have failed, but most of them have cost

the lives of a great number of men of both parties. Nothing has discouraged the Royalists, and up to this moment there has been so much to justify their hopes that it is not wonderful that from the side of an extinguished conspiracy a fresh one should rise, all the more dangerous because, over and above its own resources, it has the added experience of the faults that caused the ruin of previous attempts. I say "dangerous," not because I think that any conspiracy can overturn the established government, but because I believe that a combination may arise provided with sufficient resources to embolden it to make an open attack. This would cause the flow of streams of French blood, shed by French hands. It is to prevent, so far as in me lies, the return of past scenes of desolation that I have formed the project of making known the details of the conspiracy of which I am at the head, and to put the Government on the track of those that may follow—in short, so to scatter the means upon which they have relied, that they would even be forced to relinquish their hopes. That I am betraying the cause of royalty I am well aware; but I believe I am serving those very Frenchmen who have it at heart by destroying the foundation of their chimerical expectations; and, if I am not deceiving myself, this conduct of mine will not deprive me of any title I may have to the esteem of those who shall judge me dispassionately.

I will not weary your attention by a longer preamble. I have only written these words to justify in my own eyes an action which I venture to think courageous, and which will, however, be generally regarded as cowardly. I will at once enter upon my subject, speaking as if I were the one agent of the king in Paris.

Nearly two years ago I undertook to devote myself to his interests. From that time I felt that there would be nothing to bind the Royalists together until, gathered round a common centre, they could act and move as a whole. From that time I did all within my power to bring to that centre of unity the leaders in La Vendée and in Brittany all those agents whom I could discover who were distributed over the different departments, and who said they were all acting with the same object, but who were using mutually adverse methods. I went to Brittany and La Vendée. I went to Switzerland, where there is an English Minister specially authorized to aid the Royalists. I went to the Army of the Prince de Condé. I saw the king. And finally, I made a recent voyage to England, and while there

I explained the position to the Comte d'Artois and to the English Ministers. All these journeyings were necessary in order to get each of those persons whom I visited to give up his own particular project, and so as to avert the chance of divisions that existed in the party. In this latter regard I should never have obtained any lasting success except in Brittany and La Vendée. I have been far from regarding the submission of the insurgent countries as a misfortune. It served our purpose, because it enabled us to develop an altogether wiser plan than those which had preceded it, and for this simple reason: it embraced at once the whole of France, while it excluded any other partial movement save that which would have rendered us masters of Paris by upsetting the Government.

Here is the plan which was approved by the Pretender, who alone has known it in its entirety. The English Minister, the French princes, and the Royalists have also fallen in with that part of the plan that has been placed before them. An endeavor was made to insure the harmonious working of the political and military measures.

France is to be divided into two administrations: one, comprising the provinces of Franche-Comté, Forez, Auvergne, and the whole of the South, to be confided to M. de Précy; the other, extending over the rest of the country, to be managed by the Paris agents.

These two agents are to inform one another of their position by means of regular and active correspondence. No action is to be taken by either of them unless it is first communicated to the other, and unless that other is prepared to support his colleague.

The two administrations will be in direct communication with the king, and with the British Government. This will have two objects: first, the request for aid — in the employment of which the two agents are always to hold themselves independent of any instructions the English may give them; the second object of inter-communication with England will be to convey to the English whatever information may tend to aid the cause, but never any that might facilitate their taking any of our sea-coast places, or that could only serve their own purposes, the king and his council never having ceased to regard the services of the English as perfidious services which have for their one aim the entire ruin of France.

The principal agents will subdivide the tract of country

placed under their management into as many military jurisdictions as they shall judge convenient. They will submit their scheme to the king, and propose to him persons whom they think able to fill with intelligence and fidelity the posts of commanders-in-chief of the several arrondissements. The officers shall receive their powers from the king; but they will only correspond directly with the superior agents of their party.

The principal agents, and especially those of Paris, shall spare no efforts to bring back to the king's party all the members of the constituted authorities. They may promise to any individual such personal advantages as his importance may give him a right to desire; and this without excepting any person, not even those who voted for the death of Louis XVI.; but they are never to commit themselves to any engagement which may lead to the belief that it is the king's intention to re-establish the monarchy on new bases. The king will do all he can to reform the abuses which were introduced under the late *régime*, but nothing will persuade him to alter the Constitution. Should a powerful party in the Councils propose to recognize the king on certain "conditions," the Paris agents will invite such party to send to the king a plenipotentiary, who shall discuss with His Majesty the true interests of France.

The object aimed at is the overthrow of the present Government, every effort being made to prevent this change from being marked by bloodshed. In the present Constitution itself the means may be found of destroying it without any great shock being felt. The frequent elections offer the possibility of obtaining Royalist majorities in the Government and administration.

Thus far the Royalists have not been able to turn their numbers to any account. Timidity has kept them away from the primary assemblies; or if they have voted, this has been done without preconcerted agreement, and they have spent their efforts fruitlessly through each one advocating his own pet subject. To obtain for selected individuals a majority of votes in the primary assemblies three things are necessary: 1st, to compel the Royalists to be present; 2d, to compel them to unite their votes in favor of the chosen individuals; 3d, to get that class of men to vote with them who, without being attached more to one form of government than another, love that order which secures their persons and property. In order to attain

that triple end, two associations are to be formed, one composed of tried Royalists, the other of timid Royalists, egotists, indifferent people, etc.

(It is unnecessary for me to go into particulars with regard to this matter, since you have the regulations of the two institutions.)

These two associations will be established throughout the whole Republic. The agents are not to allow themselves to be deceived by the notion that there are parties where the feeling is such that this organization is superfluous. Everywhere there are to be found lukewarm and timid people, to whom the Philanthropic Institution is adapted.

To derive from it all the advantage proposed, the commanders of each arrondissement will set themselves to know the characters and opinions of all the individuals in their canton. No difficult matter this, the Revolution having proclaimed the character of each individual in the different departments, so that every one can boldly pass judgment upon his neighbor.

They will choose the most courageous Royalists, and form from their number companies, the quantity of the companies and the number of men in each to be proportioned to the pecuniary means the agents shall be able to devote to this service. They will furnish them with arms and provisions.

These companies shall always be ready to assemble—especially at the time of the primary assemblies, when they will be prepared to repel any party, armed or unarmed, who may wish to oppose freedom of election. They will not, of course, ever be the first to use weapons, and will always appear wearing the Republican colors. A further object will be to force, by threats or otherwise, members of the Philanthropic Institution to attend the primary assemblies.

In the provinces where there have been insurrections, the commanders will neglect nothing to preserve and expand the spirit of royalism. The peasant shall be prepared for a fresh rising, but nowhere is any active movement to be taken without formal orders from the superior agents.

These and the other agents shall apply themselves to gaining over the chiefs of corps, and entire corps (in which case such corps shall not desert their colors), and to facilitate and encourage desertion. They will keep the deserters in the country, under pretext of employing them in agriculture, and shall only enlist them when need arises.

Should the success of the military preparations happen to be such that there was a fair hope of the immediate overthrow of the Government, the employment of the primary assemblies would be given up, and advantage would be taken of the favorable moment for attaining directly the end in view, the pure and simple re-establishment of the monarchy. It is for the agents to judge in what cases this course may be taken. As soon as the Paris agents feel convinced that the proclamation of the king is near at hand, whether as the result of measures adopted in those councils where his adherents form the majority, or as the result of military preparations, they shall send to him at once a trustworthy Royalist to inform him of the position and to bring back a prince of the blood, in order that, if possible, without a day's delay the Royalists may have a chief who will quell all jealousies and private ambitions.

To prepare and develop this plan funds would be necessary, which England alone could furnish.

M. de Précy has obtained for the agency confided to him permission to draw upon Mr. Wickham, the English Minister in Switzerland, for whatever he may judge necessary, subject to Mr. Wickham's approval.

I have myself obtained £60,000 sterling for our preliminary expenses; the promise of a sum of £30,000 sterling, which was to be paid me in the month of the king's proclamation, on the condition that we did not act before the elections; £15,000 sterling for the purchase of white coats, in order to furnish certain corps with uniforms, payable on the presentation of the contract at the date of the proclamation.

Further, funds were to be passed through us, the amount of which was not yet determined, for transmission to M. de Puisaye and M. de Frotté, whose position requires more considerable expenditure than is needed in our other arrondissements.

Although the plan has been only quite recently adopted, although no part of the funds I had obtained had as yet arrived, it is not to be supposed that it was only incipient. All the old elements were brought together. Our situation was as follows:

M. de Puisaye, who thinks himself equal to conducting the counter-revolution alone, has long wished to declare himself. We have up to this prevented his so doing. The range of his correspondence extends from Brest to Laval. I believe that he reckons upon several of the corps employed in that part.

M. de Frotté was in London at the time of my departure. He reckoned upon going immediately to Normandy, where he had left officers who had formerly served under him. To judge from their letters, the country was very favorably disposed. They asked the return of their leader, and urge him eagerly to take action; for when the Royalists of a canton feel confident, they think that if they simply declare themselves the counter-revolution will be an accomplished fact. M. de Frotté has judgment and talent. He is one of our best chiefs.

M. de Rochecot, who is charged to prepare Maine, Perche, and the Chartrain district, has lately been in Paris. He is young, very active, and very intelligent. His military organization is limited to a few hundred men; but this is solely because he has not had the means of bringing in more adherents. He assured us that in his part of the country every one was in advance of the Philanthropic Institution, and wished to belong to that of the Fidèles. M. de Rochecot keeps up correspondence with the corps who have left again for Maine. He even has his correspondents at Caen. (There are three matters relative to him which I would rather tell you by word of mouth.)

M. de Bourmont is only beginning his functions. His sphere extends from Lorient to Paris. In that part there are many "philanthropists"; Royalists are rarer.

M. Mallet, formerly surgeon-major at Châteauvieux, has charge of Upper Normandy, and from the Ile-de-France to Paris; for all our arrondissements to a distance of fifty leagues form a triangle, one angle of which rests on Paris. It is organized in its entirety, and will command abundance of men and money. Its position as to the elections is best of all.

M. Dujuglart has charge of the Orléanais; I am not aware how far he has progressed—fairly well, I believe.

Picardy, Sénonais, and Brie are still without leaders, and therefore without organization. We were expecting a M. Buttet, who has been reported to us as possessing strong influence in the first-named of these provinces.

We were busy in renewing our intercourse with La Vendée. In Upper Poitou we were assured of success. One Chevalier Depallu-Duparc has begun an organization. He affirms that his correspondence extends to Rochefort. At Bordeaux the Duc de Lorges was about to set out for England, to organize that country under our management.

In Paris two companies have been formed. Of these one is under the orders of M. Defrinville, I believe. I do not know who is in command of the other.

Paris, as you will readily conceive, is the focus of our correspondence. Hitherto we have made no attempt to corrupt by means of money; but we should be prepared to make such an attempt now, in order to procure sure data as to the projects of the Government. *I have told you that I have had in my hands the plan of the descent upon Ireland, or rather Carnot's report relative to that plan.* I know very well *how* it was procured for me, but I do not know by whom. I could easily ascertain.

We made a great point of gaining over the police. We did not make much way in that direction; but you know that we have already taken a first step. Every week we made an extract from the report of the commissaries of the executive power upon the state of public opinion in the departments.

I do not know how we came to think that the Minister of Police would not be backward to serve us. Perhaps this was solely due to his having the reputation of being moderate, and to the attacks made upon him by the Jacobins.

We had the same impression about the Minister of the Interior, doubtless for the same reasons.

But it was the Councils that offered us the greatest facilities. In June of last year propositions were made to us in the name of a party which spoke of itself as very powerful. We forwarded them to the king. An offer was made to serve him upon the condition that no other change should be made in the present constitution except the concentration of the executive power in his person. The king accepted the service, but would not discuss the condition. He requested that a plenipotentiary might be sent to him, and the request has been renewed again and again. But the party, being much weaker than it gave itself out to be, has grown less importunate, although it has not altogether abandoned its pretensions. For our part, believing that it was through the Councils that the throne would be established, we considered that it would be for them to impose their conditions upon the king, and we have not insisted upon the envoy. About two months ago, I have reason to believe, a person set out who took to the king the list of members who desired a monarchy, their number reaching to a hundred and eighty-four. I make no

affirmation as to this detail. On the evening of our arrest, or the evening before, a person came who proposed to give the king sixty more members; and he undertook to obtain a formal declaration on the part of the son of the Duke of Orleans to the effect that he does not, and will not, lay claim to the throne. An undertaking was made to send the young prince to the king, but under a host of conditions. You will understand that we listened to everything, and promised everything, without, however, entering into any formal engagement.

The importance it might be to us to gain over the several corps attached to the various services of Paris did not allow us to neglect this measure. We had had some success on one side, and we must have flattered ourselves that a still greater success was in store for us, since it was the steps which our hopes prompted us to take that led to our arrest. Several of our agents occupied themselves with special administrations. One of them even told me that it was certain that ten municipal presidents were won over. But implicit reliance is not to be placed in this report. *The Royalists have always deluded themselves as to the number of their partisans.*

You see that we have been at the cost of more than one pamphlet, that we have sent articles for insertion to more than one newspaper, and have more than once given money to journalists. To judge from the reports in a great number of these papers, and from the notes we procure from the police, public opinion in the departments was very greatly to our advantage. You cannot doubt that with the money we were to receive we would have given a great development to our means of action. Of these I have here limited myself to mere enumeration; some of them I may have forgotten; while there are also some special facts I wish to state verbally.

The agency of M. de Précy is on a very different footing to ours. Up to the present his preparations have been purely military, and it is only recently that he has adopted our political measures. He is at this moment at Bern, where he is in constant receipt of reports sent him by special agents. He has agents in the whole of the South. Last year considerable difficulty was experienced in checking the ardor of a section of them who wished to revolt in full force. He has most partisans at Lyons. His great aim is to hold some strong town in order to prepare for the march into France of the Army of Condé. I

am sure he has correspondents at Besançon. I had not time to resume my communications with him, and can say nothing more precise about his position.

Apart from the name of certain individuals, you are now as well informed of the secrets of the conspiracy as myself. In order to baffle it, I am convinced it will be enough to publish my letter and the rules of the two associations. As soon as it is read you will see all the Royalists withdraw from the light of day, and for the time you may be at rest about their enterprises. But it is not sufficient that they give up their projects for a time; all idea of their renewing them must be removed; the discovery of the present plot must be used to the advantage of the Government, and the threads be placed in its hands that might be used for weaving other intrigues. I now proceed to develop the latter point, and will then give my opinion upon the other.

Two things will happen. The first is this: the Royalists, thinking that the Government has only in its power the chiefs of the conspiracy, and being attached at the same time to the principles of moderation upon which our plan is founded, will not wish to go on with it. Consequently they will propose to the king and to the English simply to send one or two fresh agents to replace us, who shall follow in our lines, but using greater caution. The other is as follows: a Royalist party, believing that it is impossible to overthrow the Government unless by acts of violence, and strengthened in their opinion by our failure, will go at one and the same time to London and to Blankenburg to ask that those means may be transferred to them of which we should have made so bad a use, and promising that by an alliance they are prepared to enter upon with the Jacobins—those energetic men!—they will bring upon France a new reign of terror, to be followed by the re-establishing of the throne. This party would be repelled at London if not at Blankenburg. But it is not sure that this would be its fate at the latter Court; and then the English Minister, in order not to appear cognizant of the methods to be used, would allow matters to take their course. This last-named party has two agents in Paris—the son of the Duke of Lavauguyon, as you are aware, and a certain Bayard. Bayard served at the siege of Lyons under M. de Précy, who has much confidence in him, although not fond of extreme views. I do not know if it might not be thought well

to confide to these two gentlemen the Paris agency. The Prince de Carency is a very disreputable person, but he is said to be a man of intellect and means. Then, with the aid of English money, they would easily succeed in causing a class of men to rise in arms who only await the signal to resume the assassinations of the past.

Should this party fail to gain the ascendency, I have some reason for believing that there would be sent to Paris to take our business in hand a M. Hermann of Colmar, formerly consul-general in England. He will have a colleague, but who, it is impossible for me to guess. Hermann will find nothing to start upon, since I am giving to the Government all the threads of our plot. He will therefore begin anew, and will use the English money, which he will have no difficulty in getting conveyed to Paris without the Government's knowing anything about it. All this would mean preparation for fresh scenes of blood.

And now I give my opinion as to the course the Government should take if it would avoid all risk of losing the track of the Royalists—a course which, I am convinced, would ruin forever their hopes. To begin with, facilities should be given me for writing to my correspondent in London, in order to give him some hope that I may be able to escape by the aid of money; to inform him that my plans of escape are already formed, and that our concerns are just as they were before we were arrested; that if I escape I shall continue to prosecute them as hitherto; to tell him to reassure the king and the English Government, and especially to dispose of no funds until he knows my destiny. This correspondent has the greatest confidence in me and my resources. It is certain that, consistently with my letter, he will do nothing until it is certain that I have been condemned; or, should he have done anything, he will be most eager to inform me.

The Government would then facilitate my escape, and this at once. There are half a score ways of making it seem due to my skill, and I have not the least doubt that everybody would be deceived. Shall I point out one method among others? A search, under a warrant, at my house may be supposed necessary: this search might be made to last into the night; and, either on my way there or back, could not the opportunity of escape be given me? Who would be surprised at my attempting what I have already attempted? And then what doubt could arise

as to the success of the scheme? The Government can no longer regard me with any suspicion. It is true that I deliver myself up freely to the execration of the Royalists, who will judge me according to their prejudices. And who is there who will not so judge me? I will indicate the place of my retreat. There I will resume my functions, reuniting my correspondence with England, with the king, and with Switzerland. Whatever I do I will do in concert with you. All the funds I receive I will remit to you, except such sums as it shall be agreed I employ to keep up the delusion. When we have received all that England has promised me, I will put the Government in the way of dashing the last hopes of the Royalists, and embroiling the Pretender with England, his one resource. This can easily be done by publishing the letters of M. de Lavauguyon and the king's instructions, which no doubt I shall get again into my possession if I obtain my liberty; for although I do not know what has become of such of our papers as were not seized, I am persuaded they are preserved. My correspondence with M. de Précy will open to me his position and his sources, and the intrigues in the South will be baffled.

M. Puisaye will perhaps wish to continue his projects in Brittany. I shall prove by authentic letters that he is regarded as an odious man by the king and the princes.

In a word, by this course I am placing the Government in the position of possessing itself of the present resources of the Royalists, and of rendering them destitute of means in the future; and moreover, I give it the means of inciting the English Government to quarrel with Parliament for having parted with a considerable sum without authority. It appears to me that all this merits some consideration, especially as no difficulty could arise through restoring me to liberty. For I shall be so circumstanced that I shall only enjoy it to the advantage of the Government, and only during such time as it may judge expedient, since it will always be able to arrest me, and will have two ways instead of one of getting rid of me should it desire to do so.

To this long explanation I have one word to add. There is a party beyond the limits of France which reckons upon the future assistance of Spain. At its head are M. de Lavauguyon and M. d'Antraigues. I will give their means of correspondence with the Interior. This party believes that it is supported by the

King of Spain, and among other private persons by the Marquis Las Casas. I saw the last named in England, and I believe that he and his Court are deceiving these gentlemen; but of this I have no positive proof. On the other hand, I am sure that two Frenchmen have been quite recently sent from Madrid to Blankenburg with a letter for the king, in which the Duke of Alcudia protests that the sentiments of his Court remain unchanged, and that the Court of Madrid hopes, when peace is established, to be the means of restoring monarchy in France. These expressions occur in the letter: "No party can exist in France save that which has the support of Spain. M. de Las Casas spoke to me to the same effect. He must very shortly be coming to France. It will be well to dog his steps; he is a cunning impostor."

This is all I have been able to call to mind. Possibly something else may occur to me; if so, I will not fail to communicate it to you. You will be still more convinced how important it is not to communicate what I point out to you without any sort of bias. As to the letter itself, I leave that to the promise you made me.—I am, etc.

(Signed) DUVERNE DE PRESLE, *dit* DUNAN.

Attested copy.
(Signed) LIMODIN.

Attested copy.
The Minister of Police.
(Signed) COCHON.

CHAPTER XXIII

Foreign relations—Willot's confidence as to the Avignon elections—The Van Robert Company—Cheating practised by contractors—Peace with Rome—Spain refused the protectorate in the Levant—Intrigues against Bonaparte—State of public instruction—Larevellière as reformer of worship—Carnot's philosophy as to religion—Novel enactments—Lavauguyon and Nantua—Clarke's blunder when negotiating—Violent discussion on the independence of Italy—Clarke's conduct referred to Bonaparte—Fresh revelations of Duverne de Presle, or the false Dunan.

11th, 12th, 13th Ventôse, Year V.—The Minister of Foreign Affairs reports his first conference with the envoy from Portugal, which shows no result. He proposes some modifications in the projected treaty with the Pope, having for their object the full recognition of the Holy Father's spiritual power—this to be kept distinctly separate from all right to temporal action: that is to say, he is to be allowed entire enjoyment of the kingdom of heaven, on the understanding that he does not interfere in the government of the earth. Carnot considers that the restrictions proposed by the Minister are useless, and that the treaty should be concluded without any kind of amendment, as otherwise there would be the risk of its being refused. We agree that if war with the Pope is not very formidable from a military point of view, it might prove very serious in relation to the intrigues which are traceable to the Court of Rome, and which that Court has for so long (*dif-*

férenciées, sic) fostered[1] in La Vendée, as in all other parts of France, of Europe, Africa, America, and Asia, as far as China. Thus, in order to counteract the Roman machinations, we should hasten our peace with Rome.

In order to retain his command, Willot is now desirous of courting the favor of the Republican party. In a letter dated from Avignon he assures us that the Royalists will not be again elected at the assemblies. It is Willot's custom to endeavor to persuade people to accept what *should* be as the same thing as what *is*.

The Van Robert Company has furnished the Army of the Rhine with clothing of the worst quality. Patterns are brought to the Directorate that it may form an opinion as to the honesty of the contractors. The material is neither cloth nor leather, but poor and coarse serge. All dealings with such contractors ought to be at once broken off; and they should be arrested and brought to justice. The Ministers of War and of Finance are to report upon this matter.

Bonaparte announces that the treaty of peace with Rome is definitely concluded. The Pope gives up Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara; he leaves Ancona in the possession of the Republic until the general peace; he undertakes to supply thirty millions, part in money and part in diamonds. He ratifies the giving up of the objects taken away during the preceding armistices. Does this considerate treatment of a fanatical government assure

[1] Barras writes: *qu'elle a différenciées*. It is not easy to guess in what sense he intended to use this word "differentiated."—Translator's note.

"The Catholic religion can very well perform the service of the Republic for another three weeks, during which the making of a new religion can be thought over — although I repeat my opinion that the oldest are the best, and that, as Tertullian said, 'the more obscure this is, the more evident it should be; the more absurd, the more credible.'"

The Directorate, following in the unfortunate steps of its predecessors, who were not able to dispense with police, is developing too much that part of the administration which ought, on the contrary, always to be more restrained in a constitutional government. As soon as there is a Minister of Police there must be agents, and then these agents must make themselves necessary. Among those whose capacity the Minister extols the most is a certain Bassal, formerly *curé* of Versailles, who was a member of the Convention, but whom Cochon regards as especially cunning in his quality of ex-priest. Bassal has undertaken to cause Lavauguyon, who is designated as the principal agent of the machinations of the counter-revolutionists, whose centre is Paris, to be arrested. Bassal has not only not kept his promise, but the Minister informs us that this agent, who was to be such an adept in putting the Government on the traces of the homes of the conspirators, has left his own dwelling, rendering it the more difficult to lay hands upon Lavauguyon and the Baron de Nantua, who are murmuring in full liberty in Paris. The Minister of Police wishes to use such measures as he has at his disposal, without occupying the Directorate with their details.

The conduct and the correspondence of Clarke alike preclude all feeling that he is a safe agent. He is a man who cannot possibly play a simple part: he must be playing several at the same time. The Directorate sends for the instructions given to Clarke at the moment when he set out for Italy, and since. It is evident that he has in no wise followed them. He has, in particular, disregarded the article to the effect that he should insist on the independence of Milan. It seems that the negotiator has been so frank and independent as to write to many persons at Paris that France would give up Italy. Carnot replies that "insist" did not imply that the independence of Milan was to be

required as a *sine quâ non*. "I am no longer astonished," says Larevellière, "that theological disputes have gone on during eight hundred years about the plainest matters." Rewbell maintains that Clarke ought at first to have proposed independence, and, had this been refused, he should have insisted, never swerving except on the hypothesis that to persevere would be to break off negotiations. Carnot and Letourneur persist in their opinion. The last named accuses us of not liking Clarke. Rewbell and I avow that we have no liking for the man's duplicity. Larevellière remarks that as a result of the very confidence shown him, the duty of a negotiator, if he has any sense of probity, is to conform to the orders he has received. Rewbell proposes that the instructions be sent directly to Bonaparte, which, no doubt, Clarke has only communicated verbally, and that he be asked his opinion upon the clauses of the treaty. Carnot and Letourneur are disposed to see in such a proceeding an insult to Clarke. Larevellière, without thinking that we owe to Clarke the consideration asked for him by Carnot, suggests by way of amendment that we should ask Bonaparte to request Clarke to give him a copy of his instructions, it being indispensable that he know what they are in order to advise us of his opinion. After much opposition, the amendment is adopted. The two opposing members ask Rewbell to put to the vote the question, "Is peace desired or not?" Rewbell rises in anger, and says that this proposition no more frightens him than those who made it. "What do you mean by that?" exclaims Letourneur. "I mean," replies Rewbell, "that the interests of the country are confided to men who are, to say the least, very timid. I desire peace, but an honorable peace. I desire the liberty of those Milanese people whom we have compromised." I now speak, indignant at the cold-blooded way in which the massacre of the inhabitants of Italy is made a matter of deliberation. They have been urged to arm themselves, to the number of 15,000 men; and we even refuse to insist upon their independence, when we ought to require it imperatively! . . . Clarke ought long ago to have communicated his correspondence and whatever bears upon his mission. Letourneur and Carnot still wish to treat with consideration the susceptibility of Clarke, who may be vexed at being invited to confer with Bonaparte. Carnot makes signs to Letourneur. Rewbell notices this. "This conference enlightens us," he says. "The correspondence must be sent to us immediately. We must

know Bonaparte's opinion about the instructions, and about Clarke himself." These two demands are carried.

The Minister of Police, who always has excellent reasons for taking up the time of the Directorate with the details of his administration, reads a fresh declaration made by Duverne de Presle, formerly passing as Dunan. He avows that the deputies had dealings with Louis XVIII. He names Mersaut and Lemerer, with whom he has conferred, and who were charged to make stipulations for their colleagues. He declares that these deputies belonged to the Clichy Society; that Durbak, the foreign agent, was treating from Paris with Saladin; that Vincent was an agent of the king, and that Lavauguyon junior had held parleys with the Bishop of Autun; that correspondence had been established by Cadet; that this had been facilitated on the frontiers by the manager of the salt works at Salins, while that of the Interior was carried on by express service; that the military commander of Besançon was on their side; and that all those mentioned in the correspondence of Lemaître belonged to this last conspiracy. These fresh facts, all of which bear out what the patriots have long been asserting, were divined by them instinctively, but only exposed them to those contradictions and charges of untruthfulness of which the sittings of the Councils and of the Directorate have been the arena. As they have in their turn proved in so positive a manner all that has hitherto been denied, I do not think I can better establish the truth than by the production *in extenso* of the documents which a series of marvellous chances has placed in my hands.

SECOND DECLARATION OF DUNAN, TO BE ANNEXED TO THE SECRET REGISTER, 17TH VENTÔSE, YEAR V.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR.

(*Secret Register, Number* 294.)

Lemerer, Marsan, and the greater part of the members of the Clichy Society form the royal party. The conspiracy of Lemaître and of Vendémiaire was a Royalist conspiracy. The person known to us by the name of Théban is one Desponelles, who was a major-general before the Revolution, and a member, I believe, of the Council of War. He has been much in com-

munication with Lemaître; he it was who drew up the regulations of the Institutions and of the military divisions. It is very possible that he has undertaken to replace us provisionally—provisionally only, for he is too prudent to wish to remain charged with so perilous a business. He lives at a country-seat by the Bourg-de-l'Égalité, and used rarely to come to town. He said he was very intimate with Messieurs de Ségur, and assured us that he and their party would support us.

I had never heard of the widow Joye before my interrogatory. This must surely be a fictitious name; and the person who adopts it cannot have had any relations with us, but with Lemaître, whose correspondent Dutheil was also my London correspondent.

Duval is the name I took while in England, it being my custom to assume a fresh name every time I go on a new expedition.

We do not know the members of the legislative body who belong to our party. Lemerer and Marsan were our sole intermediaries; but the others are members of the Rue de Clichy set, or at least the greatest number of them. The individual who procured for us the report of Carnot on the project of the descent upon Ireland must be employed at the office of plans and maps, or perhaps the hydrographic or topographic bureau. I had not time to become acquainted with him or with the person who brought the report. I do not think he was at the head of the office, but that the document was brought away during the absence of the principal official in the course of Frimaire.

A citizen, Surez, employed at the Caen depot, or perhaps the head of that depot, had undertaken to give it over to Rochecot. As he said he was very intimate with the commander of the Place de Besançon, of whose services, he assured us, he could dispose, we were on the point of putting him to the test. We had other correspondents there—as had also M. de Précy for his part, but I do not know of what character.

Young Lavauguyon is certainly here under another name; but he has no settled residence. I am sure he has seen the Bishop of Autun frequently.

Bayard has been living under another name in the Rue de Lille and in the Rue du Gros-Chenet; but I know neither his assumed name nor the numbers of his lodgings.

England has had in its pay here a certain Hardemberg. He had direct relations with Saladin.

England also pays a certain Vincent. The Minister of Police must know him. At least he often possesses information which he says he has got out of that Minister at meals when they have been together. I have always thought that this young man, for he has been described to me as such, has been the dupe of the Minister.

Our home correspondence is carried on by special arrangements. A man of the name of Lecoq, of Rennes, used to bring us the letters of Puisaye, and take him back ours; the other heads of arrondissements came themselves to make their reports; what few other letters came were sent to my address, and were written in sympathetic ink or in two or three furnished houses the owners of which could have no suspicion of the object of the correspondence. The Hôtel de Suède, Rue de Tournon, was generally chosen as within reach of us all.

Our English correspondence went by way of Calais. The mayor may have been unaware of its real object. He had been told that we were dealers in the public stocks of the two countries. He addressed our letters to the citizen Cadet, Rue de Provence. It was to these two addresses that the letters of the king came which were not sent by way of England.

Our correspondence with the king was by Hamburg or Leipzig. The letters *viâ* Hamburg were under different names, of which I only remember that of Charles Maran. They were addressed *poste restante*. A certain Thouvenay is commissioned to fetch them, and whatever comes for the king by the English steam-packets. The letters for Leipzig have the same names, but under cover of Messrs. Schepfer, merchants. This may help to trace the correspondence to which we are not a party, but which must, I am convinced, be carried on by the same means.

Our correspondence with Switzerland, which was very active, was arranged as follows: Important budgets were sent to the manager of the salt works at Salins; his name I have forgotten. Regular despatches were sent under cover of M. de Belmont, director of the posts at Berne, sometimes of M. Teuleder, banker of the same city, and on other occasions of M. Pictet, professor of philosophy at Geneva. His full name is Marc-Auguste Pictet. We transposed the Christian names, addressing "M. Auguste-

Marc Pictet." Our letters for M. de Précy would be similarly directed, with the addition, "Pour M. Joachim," which is the name he has assumed. We always used sympathetic ink. Marceau, the host of the *Sauvage* at Bâle, is also an intermediary in this correspondence. Bayard, who corresponds directly with Mr. Wickham, employs no other means.

A correspondence of which we are not altogether unacquainted is that of M. d'Antraigues with M. Sourdat senior. The course it takes is as follows: Sourdat writes either to an Abbé André who goes by the name of Lamarre, or to a M. de Valdené, well known in connection with Lemaître's affair. These two gentlemen are at Lausanne or Vevey: they send on the letters to an Abbé de la Renne at Bellinzona, under cover, I believe, of the director of the posts of that place; and the last named, I think, forwards them to Venice, where d'Antraigues is staying.

From Venice the particulars go to M. de Lavauguyon and to Spain; for Spain is always desirous of knowing what the Royalists are doing. Sourdat also writes directly to Bellinzona, sometimes to the Abbé de la Renne[1] under the name of Grégoire Letoni, sometimes to Marco Philiberti, or even other names. There is also a direct communication with Venice. The letters are addressed to Marco Philiberti, care of Cornu, Bavarian banker. The correspondence from the Interior possesses no sort of interest. Whatever is of any importance is sent by way of England. The rest consists simply in acknowledgments of the receipt of letters.

When any one wishes to enter France from abroad, he very easily obtains passports as a Swiss, at Hamburg, Emden, Bremen, and, in Switzerland, at Lausanne. It is also very easy to pass into Switzerland. One goes so far as Champagnole, to Saint-Claude, with a passport for the interior, and there one finds any number of people ready to serve as guides into the mountainous districts. Colonel Roland, who commands the Swiss *cordon*, does all he can to favor ingress and egress. I am sure that it was he who enabled young Lavauguyon to return.

There must be at this moment in Hamburg, or perhaps even in Paris, a certain Collevel, who has offered to serve the Gov-

[1] The name of this personage is also spelled in the manuscript: de Lorenne.—G. D.

ernment. He is certainly a spy for the two parties, and his only aim is money.

(Signed) DUVERNE DE PRESLE, *dit* DUNAN.

Attested copy.
(Signed) LIMODIN.

Attested copy.
The Minister of Police.
(Signed) COCHON.

Done on the 8th Ventôse, Year V. of the Republic.

(*Secret Register, Number* 291.)

As to the heavy portfolio, a portrait was found in it of Cormatin, the head of the Royalists in Brittany. I saw Dunan yesterday, and talked with him for a long time. He developed to me the plan of the Royalists, who, I assure you, are not formidable. The poor King of Verona has neither troops, nor chiefs, nor money — beyond a few thousand pounds sterling that England will give him with which to attempt a movement in Paris. He counts particularly upon the malcontents, whose number is pretty considerable; and he has made known to me the plans of the *Instituts des Amis de l'Ordre* and *des Fidèles*. He has also promised to give me a list of 184 deputies who have sent their names to Louis XVIII. He is to-day putting everything in writing for me. The whole business resolves itself into the mountain bringing forth a mouse.

Respectful greetings.

Attested copy.
(Signed) LIMODIN.
The Minister of Police.
(Signed) COCHON.

DECLARATION OF DUNAN ANNEXED TO THE SECRET REGISTER, 9TH VENTÔSE, YEAR V. (*Number* 296.)
(Signed) LETOURNEUR.

PARIS, 18th Ventôse, Year V. of the French Republic, one and indivisible.
Bureau Central of the Canton of Paris.

To the Minister of Police.

CITIZEN MINISTER,—I have just left Dunan. He does not know the individuals mentioned by name in the notes you ad-

dressed to me yesterday. As to Lejeune, referred to in the papers relative to the conspiracy, he is none other than the Mayor of Calais, to whom this name has been given. The newspapers sold to this party are the *Gardien de la Constitution*, edited chiefly by Marsan. Richer-Serisy has never issued his numbers without being paid. The *Actes des Apôtres* also emanates from the same workshop. I have just ordered the arrest of the man who, apparently, was the author of the order for the removal of these gentlemen, and signed by you. I will inform you of the result. It is well that I inform you that the same man has been clever enough to extort from them for this pretended service the sum of six hundred louis d'or. I thought you would be charmed to know these slight details, which I will further descant upon. Dunan reckons much upon the Government.

Respectful greetings.

(Signed) LIMODIN.

Attested copy.
The Minister of Police.
(Signed) COCHON.

The Directorate orders the Minister of Police to follow up this fresh information judicially.

CHAPTER XXIV

French convicts landed in England—My complaints of this measure—Tumults and slaughter—Troubles in Lyons—New instructions sent to Clarke—A trick played upon Carnot—Letter from the commissary attached to the Laval tribunal—The abbé Sicard—His correspondence—The Topographical Office compromised in the Royalist conspiracy—Journalists paid by Louis XVIII.—Organization of a civil war in the Sarthe—Italian affairs—Intercepted letters—Plans of the *émigrés*—General Despinois—Clarke's negotiations—Guarantees given to Duverne de Presle—Energetic defence of Vendôme prisoners—Their songs to the audience—Vieillard—Oath of hatred of anarchy—Camus, Thibaudeau, and Daubermesnil—Assassinations in the colonies—Projects of attack upon our financial operations—Opposition in the Councils—Obstacles at the Treasury—State of the South—The Directorate takes too much upon itself—The Verdun and Colombel Companies—The century becomes "positive"—General Monchoisy—The deputy Beffroy—Message regarding the currency—Expeditiousness of the Ministers—Eight hundred passports—Trial of the Royalist conspirators—Conduct of their defenders—The Council consults the Directorate—Merlin's ability—Merlin the Magician—His reply to the consultation of the Council—Discussion as to his competence at the Council of Five Hundred—M. Pastoret's sophisms—Appeal to the *Cour de Cassation*—Energetic measures of the Directorate—The *Cour de Cassation* miscontented—My opinion—Prussia's evasions—Merlin's fears.

IT is solely through the public papers that we hear of the disembarking in England of 1400 French convicts. I complain that so ignoble a measure should have been taken independently of a resolution. I am assured that there has been a resolution upon the subject. "A culpable one,

then," I reply. "The Directorate will be accused of having fomented anew the civil war of La Vendée, for the English will not fail to discharge there your ruffians and their own in addition." I ask for information as to resolution referred to; and on the Minister of Marine being requested to make his statement, I require that orders be forwarded, if not too late, to stop this deplorable expedition.

Rewbell asks that the general correspondence be read. It contains hideous accounts of tumults and slaughter. The *Compagnies du Soleil* have reappeared in Lyons and its environs. They have murdered the patriots in the very streets, the members of the *Soleil* confraternity again beginning to term them *matevons* (*sic*). There is some show of paying attention to this correspondence; but the necessary measures are adjourned, and also my proposition relative to the convicts landed in England.

Clarke's despatches are being addressed to him. Are the Milanese, who shed their blood in fighting for us, to be given up as victims—as we were led to fear would happen—to Austrian despotism? The Directorate, in Carnot's absence, has added to Clarke's despatches that he is to insist upon the independence of Italy. This innuendo is not quite of the same kind as that by which, in my absence, the convicts were to be discharged upon English territory.

The commissary attached to the Laval tribunal writes that the Royalist conspiracy is to break out in those parts towards the 1st of March.

The abbé Sicard has written to a priest in Spain that he has caused the report upon the priests to be delayed, and that he is working to obtain per-

mission for those who are out of the country to return. The abbé Sicard's letter has been intercepted.

19*th Ventôse, Year V.*—Duverne de Presle, otherwise Dunan, has confessed that the plan of the descent upon Ireland which was given to him came from the Topographical Office of the Directorate; also that Spain was occupied in arming and rallying all the Royalists. I ask that the Minister endeavor to ascertain the names of the employés of the Topographical Office who furnished the documents to Duverne de Presle. Cochon replies that an inquiry has been constantly refused at the office. The Topographical Office is trusted by no one member of the Directorate at this moment, with the exception of Carnot; and yet, out of fear of disorganization, it is let alone. . . . It is clearly shown that corruption has penetrated everywhere. The conduct of some of the journalists has exposed them to suspicion. Duverne de Presle has declared that several newspapers, particularly the pretended *Gardien de la Constitution*, Richer-Serisy and others, have been paid by Louis XVIII.'s agency.

The Sarthe administration reports daily assassinations and the organization of a civil war. It is resolved that publicity be given to the organization of the Society of the Friends of Order and to that of the Legitimate Sons, which is being carried on in the departments with a view to influencing the elections.

Bonaparte writes from Mantua that the treaty with the Pope is ratified by His Holiness. Clarke has just prevented a treaty with Sardinia. He does not think it should be accepted, and still less

that a proposal should be made to Austria to establish a congress, as desired by that power.

Prince Charles has set out for Vienna, whither he has been called to receive the last orders of the Aulic Council. The Republican army is about to measure its strength again with the Austrians. Clarke will be written to thereupon.

The Minister of Police has intercepted several letters from Lyons written by *émigrés*. The *émigrés* abroad are informed that they can reckon upon that town. These letters mention the names of Royalist candidates for the Legislature. At Marseilles, those who profess to be "honest folk" are sure to be elected. Letters from the South announce that the messenger has been captured, near Pont-Saint-Esprit, by a company of robbers calling themselves Royalists. In an intercepted letter, a conversation with a French general, ex-commander at Milan, is discussed. Despinois is suspected.

Clarke has gone to Florence. He has communicated to the grand duke the desire of the French Government for peace. His Italian States would be restored to the emperor against the cession of Belgium and the countries occupied by us this side the Rhine. The grand duke has shown a desire for this *rapprochement*, and has undertaken to write upon the subject to his brother. Clarke told him that Thugut was sold to England; and has communicated to him his correspondence with Saint-Priest. If the emperor would give up his Italian States, a compensation might be found in Italy. The Republic would favor the secularization of the bishoprics on the other side of the Rhine. Rewbell, Larevellière, and I express our dissatisfac-

tion at Clarke's clearly not carrying into execution the orders he has received, with a view so to deceive us as to lead us to deliver over the unfortunate people as victims to a treacherous and barbarous peace. Clarke proposes consent to a general armistice, and makes out that Bonaparte would agree. Is it not acknowledged that nothing would be more injurious to the interests of the Republic? The treaty with Sardinia is on a par with the proposals to the emperor. We are asked to guarantee his States and those of the Pope, while we are to require hardly any of the indemnities that have been claimed and allowed. The Directorate again decides that Clarke shall conform to his latest instructions. Carnot succeeds in getting us to leave him in charge of the negotiations, although he is abandoned by the majority, even by Letourneur.

The Ministers are invited to busy themselves about the elections. In consideration of the offers and revelations of Duverne de Presle, the Minister of Police is authorized to assure him that if he declares everything without reserve at his trial, and if he makes avowals that are of value to the Republic, his life will be guaranteed.

The associates of Babeuf, who have been brought before the high court of Vendôme, are far from being cast down. They defend themselves like lions, very few having recourse to denial; the others maintaining energetically that they are the true defenders of the Fatherland; that whatever they have attempted has had for its object the public good and the happiness of the human race. Brought to bay, but with this strong and lofty rampart against which to lean, convinced of the justice of their

claims and of the excellence of their cause, they carry their audacity so far as to sing to the audience, "*Tremblez, tyrans, et vous perfides, l'opprobre de tous les partis.*" They end the sitting by pouring forth the refrain of the hymn of the Marseillaise. Letourneur is furious at the insolence of the accused. He considers that the high court shows no firmness; he would have it reprove severely these unhappy but intrepid people; but it never occurs to him to wish that some of the judges possessed more self-respect. Vieillard and others, for instance, insult angrily those who are not condemned, and who, even if they were condemned, would still merit the consideration which should never be forgotten by those who sit on the bench of justice.

25th Ventôse, Year V.

The Directorate determines to send a message to the legislative body to obligé the electors, like all public functionaries, to take an oath of hatred of royalism and anarchy. Camus and Thibaudeau combat this proposition. They would even discourage obedience to such a regulation if it were carried. Daubermesnil believes that a large part of the present legislators would like to have the Republicans, with few exceptions, haled before the court at Vendôme and handed over to the executioner.

When a government is not united, its action becomes weaker every day, both near and far. Thus the troubles that take place in almost all the countries in the immediate neighborhood of France cannot fail to spread to those at a greater distance, and, for a stronger reason, to the colonies which are already inflamed by their own passions. It is

more than time to prevent in these countries the assassinations of which they are the scene. The bearers of peace must be enlightened and patriotic men, unfamiliar with the dissensions that vex this country, who are prepared to establish police and labor regulations, and to conciliate the interests of the black population with those of the land-owners. A proclamation which guaranteed to them freedom upon bases which would henceforward be inviolable, would bring back confidence, tranquillity, and submission to the Republic. This is my opinion. Rewbell reads a paper propounding the same views. The whole Directorate agrees, but nothing is decided upon.

The deputy Camus, and others with him, propose to attack all the financial operations of the Directorate, as well as its negotiations to procure funds for the armies. The Minister of Finance unfolds to us these hostile projects. Carnot thinks it easy to come to an understanding with the hostile deputies, and undertakes to see them in person.

26th Ventôse, Year V.—The Minister of Police also reports to us that in the heart of the Legislative Assembly insults are heaped upon the Directorate by Camus, Thibaudeau, and others. They found in the message relative to the oath of hatred to royalism and anarchy an opportunity for a diatribe quite favorable to their eloquence. Rewbell considers that action should be taken against men who wish to upset everything; that they should be attacked, no matter with what cloak they cover themselves. "Will you wait," he says, "until the morrow of your death?"

I have enough esteem for Rewbell's character

to contradict him frankly; and there is nothing that tells upon an angry man more than the process of being calmed down, and of finding himself hemmed in by the circle of the laws when he wishes to escape from it. So I consider that I should point out to Rewbell with some emphasis that "we must keep to the literal carrying out of the Constitution, and prevent any one from straying from its lines; that we must govern strongly, but moderately. My colleagues rally all parties by the exercise of justice. Let us protect, above all, the men of the Revolution, employing them in preference to others to whom they are equal in merit. These are the means the Directorate has in its hands, and these means are very powerful. If the outcome is a fancy for our heads, in order to carry them on the ends of pikes, I am no less disposed than you that we defend ourselves against all comers." Carnot believes that there is a wish to exasperate public feeling, and that many of the deputies, especially Portalis, are important auxiliaries of the Republican Government. Larevellière answers that he has already revealed his opinion of these false friends of the people—these genuine enemies of the Republic. He cannot help seeing what is as plain as noonday; he feels sure that we alone are prepared to come forward in defence of liberty, and with us he is ready to take up arms in defence of the Republic. It does not argue any great courage "to keep step with big battalions."

The system of the enemies of the Directorate in the legislative body had been, among other means of legal counter-revolution, to paralyze all action by trammelling the Treasury. The Minister Ramel

announces that at last, after unheard-of delays and frequent parleyings, the Treasury will pay the sums asked for the hospitals and prisons. Rewbell tells Ramel that he is too weak, weaker even than the Directorate, if he does not obtain the payment of the 800,000 francs for which the Minister of the Interior has given his order. The Government will know how to make itself better obeyed, even if it should resort to arms. Larevellière thinks that the Directorate has no choice as to its conduct; that the first duty of a government is to hold its own; and that if the Republican institutions are attacked, there can be no hesitation about defending them. Carnot, in a quite different spirit, says that the Councils have in their midst many men who are wrongly regarded as Chouans who ought to be treated as friends.

Carnot submits to us Willot's project of declaring in a state of siege the communes of Graveson, Grasse, and several others. Why not include the whole of the South? The proposal is rejected. The assassinations in those parts continue. Our sittings are spent in hearing useless police reports and in personalities. Confidence will diminish, and the evil will increase, if the Directorate persists in taking no steps.

The Minister of War presents a report upon the gendarmerie and the veterans. The Directorate will examine it.

The Directorate should govern, and not administer. It too often allows itself to take up the work of the Ministers, thereby exposing itself to diminishing their responsibility and taking it upon itself. Thus, contracts of various undertakings for military and civil provisioning should never be

submitted to the Directorate. A company bearing the name of Verdun has offered its services, and is encouraged. Another, named Colombel, professes to be more economical. "But all this is no business of ours," I say to my colleagues, "but that of the Ministers." Reference to a competent Minister is decided upon. I will explain here my whole opinion upon this matter. I have more than once blamed the Directorate for concerning itself with everything and bringing nothing to a final issue. But here my reproach stops; and it can imply no suspicion that my colleagues have acted under the influence of any personal interest when they have thought well to receive and discuss propositions of undertakings judged more or less advantageous to the State. We were dragged into engagements of this sort chiefly through the solicitations of deputies; and it is certain that many among them were interested in undertakings of various kinds, and that the position of deputy, hitherto regarded as a post of honor, was no longer sought with the same sentiment as had induced men to join the first assemblies. The post of deputy is now sought after as a favorable position for making a fortune rather than for winning glory. In proportion as the moral ideas of the Revolution became feeble, they gave way to material ideas, and it began to be said that the age was "positive." We shall see what happens to a disenchanted people.

Carnot proposes the restoration of General Monchoisy. This the Directorate rejects. He then proposes a military employment for the deputy Beffroy. The sole claim, military or civil, we know him to possess, is the fact of his being the brother

of the famous "Cousin Jacques." Carnot believes that we are ignorant of this circumstance, and does not think himself obliged to inform us of it. We say to him, laughingly, "This is the nepotism of friendship." Adjourned for the production of the military titles of the citizen Beffroy qualifying him for the employment he seeks.

28th Ventôse, Year V.—The Minister of Finance presents a communication upon the currency. After discussion, it is adopted. Of all the Ministers of the Directorate, Ramel works the most expeditiously. After him, we have found Merlin and Scherer the most prompt and capable when a message or a decision has to be drawn up at a moment's notice without leaving the room in which the Directorate holds its sittings.

Willot writes that 800 passports have been given by the municipality of Marseilles to anarchists who are moving about and spreading in every direction. Willot does not know that men of business are compelled to go hither and thither, and that their travels are not necessarily anarchical. Cochon says that Lyons is threatened with a Royalist outbreak. Carnot reads a letter from Kellermann to the effect that everything is perfectly quiet. "Even the anarchists," we say. Carnot makes no rejoinder. He always will have it that the Royalists alone are quiet.

The defenders of the persons accused of the Royalist conspiracy having declared the military council charged to sit in judgment upon the plot incompetent, the council wished to pronounce at once upon the question of competency and on the general merits of the case. The defenders refused to plead,

and withdrew. The president, the clerk, and Beauvoisin, members of the military council, are admitted to the Directorate. They inform us that after the defenders withdrew, the military council sought to appoint official defenders, but that those designated refused to serve. The president affirms that his opinion is formed, but that the members of the military council are uneasy both as to the declaration of the defence and as to the appeal to the *Cour de Cassation.* The clerk appears far from reassured, and Beauvoisin still less so. The president excuses the step he has taken in consulting the Directorate; he took it because he was considered wrong in not causing the question of incompetency to be discussed. Rewbell, Larevellière, and Letourneur are of opinion that the proceedings should go on, and judgment be passed. Carnot and I are silent. It is determined that the Minister of Justice reply to the military council charged to judge Brottier and those accused with him.

It must here be recognized that Merlin de Douai is a very valuable Minister, and wonderfully helpful in difficult moments and when justice requires the exercise of all the resources of its forms and even of its subtleties. This homage had been rendered to him more than once by Bonaparte when he was in command in Paris, after the 13th Vendémiaire. The latter, no longer making any difficulty in proclaiming that the laws were only trammels, and that it was impossible to govern without using arbitrary power, one day remarked at my table, as a dessert joke: "Whenever I commit any arbitrary act, and have been obliged to overstep my functions, I go the next morning to Merlin, and beg him to be good enough

to point out to me some ancient or modern law under which I can shelter myself. He reflects awhile, and in a very few minutes he finds the answer in his head, or puts his hand on the volume and his finger on the page. Never does this good Merlin leave me in the lurch. He is Merlin the Magician." Bonaparte has already too well appreciated these qualities of Merlin not to recognize still more fully his merit eventually; and Merlin, in his turn, has too well appreciated his future master for there to be any fear of his not responding, when the time comes, to the call of despotism.

I return to the affair of our Royalist conspirators. The reader who has seen the preceding documents knows as much as justice itself will be able to discover, and is in a position to form a judgment as to the innocence or the culpability of the defenders. Merlin replies to the consultation of the council of war that under the ancient and new *régime* alike the courts of final appeal pronounced at once upon the refusal to admit a judicial action and upon the substance of the action. "Even in the tribunals which judged summarily and under appeal, such," he said, "as the consular jurisdictions, both were dealt with at the same time. Now in the question before us, the council of war is a tribunal from which there is no appeal, and also a tribunal which must judge summarily. It can thus give no preliminary judgment. As to the refusal of the defenders to go into the general merits of the action, the Minister considers that this incident need cause the council no embarrassment. When once the defenders have made their choice," he adds, "it is of small moment whether they speak much or little. As soon as they

have committed themselves to any action, their mission is accomplished." Merlin ends by reminding the council that the spirit of its institution requires despatch and continuity in the holding of its sittings.

While the Minister of Justice was giving so complete and unanswerable a solution of the question of procedure, the accomplices of the conspiracy outside were bestirring themselves actively in every direction, especially in that of the legislative body. This was the fulcrum upon which they well knew they had rested the lever of all their intrigues. They had presented to the Councils a petition which could not fail to find an echo. Indeed, M. Pastoret, faithful to the mandate he held from abroad, and probably regarding himself as but little bound by that which he held as deputy, began, after his fashion, to deliver himself of poor sophisms directed against the authority given to the council of war. It was not easy to evade that authority; and the absurdity of the opposition made here to the course taken by the Directorate will be felt, when it is remembered that the very men who raised that opposition to-day are those who, a little time ago, determined the sentence upon the Grenelle prisoners by the law of the 24th Fructidor, added to that of the 22d Messidor, and who now, under parallel and almost identical circumstances, sought to give Royalist conspirators the power of appointing what they called their natural judges, and save them from the jurisdiction to which they belong. "Yes," said M. Pastoret, gravely, but with little ingenuousness, "the act of enlisting, even when it occurs, is a detail of the offence which does not change its character and nature." After having listened to certain sophists of M. Pastoret's

stamp (personages, all of them, who quite recently had driven to judgment and punishment the Grenelle prisoners, towards whom they considered the council of war which sent them to their death had been too mild and dilatory), the discussion having exhausted itself, the Council of Five Hundred treats this tiresome bandying of words with the justice it deserves.

But while the unfortunate conspirators who long ago were shot down at Grenelle have been buried in oblivion, and sleep under that earth which by no means lies lightly upon them, the Royalists have a claim upon society to a quite other interest. The Royalist party has for a long time adopted and practised the maxim of Chamfort's merchant of Smyrna, that "one ought always to complain." Repulsed by the Legislature after having exhausted every effort of intrigue and corruption, the defenders of the accused, as a consequence following upon their protestation that the military council was incompetent, have applied to the *Cour de Cassation*. The documents of the action have been ordered to be produced. This means another hitch, and therefore a great hope of triumph for the Royalist party, who are every day gaining influence in society, and whom recent revelations have proved to have for their one aim the invasion of all positions of authority in the Republic, beginning with the judiciary. The Directorate cannot ignore the rights it holds from the Constitution, and the bounden duty of repressing those bodies which violate it. It makes an order forbidding the execution of the judgment of annulment. Thereupon the tribunal appeals to the *corps législatif* from the decision of the Directorate. New

sophisms are produced to defend the appeal of the *Cour de Cassation*, and to incriminate the decision of the Directorate. The Council of Five Hundred, with which rests the initiative, feels here all the danger to which the Republic is exposed; and notwithstanding the objections of personages of the new Third, who as usual pose as honest folk *par excellence* and the sole friends of justice, the order of the day is at last carried.

Merlin, who has maintained this combat with the vigor and skill of a most resourceful lawyer, informs us that the military council has nothing further to do but to continue its operations. He tells me during the sitting that the members of the council who conversed with him expressed their surprise that on the day when they were admitted to the Directorate I made no observation. I reply that my opinions about the enemies of the Republic are as well known as they are invariable; that I shall never make terms with them, no matter to what party they may belong; but that I had not felt that I could express any opinion to judges who ought to preserve all their independence.

Our ambassador in Prussia, M. Caillard, thinks he ought to reassure the Directorate as to the movements of the Cabinet of Berlin, his arguments resolving themselves into a single and very simple one: Prussia will keep with us so long as victory remains faithful to us; in the contrary case we shall have her for an enemy. Moreover, the Prussian Minister has taken it upon him to inform the Emperor of Russia of the desire of the French Government to establish harmony between the two powers.

Merlin, whose habitual fear sometimes looks at first like courage, but who, after reflection, seems alarmed at the very success his energetic conduct and judicial logic have obtained, sees with terror the Royalist storm gathering and ready to burst upon us. He believes that the impeachment of the Directorate is resolved upon, and that nothing is wanting but the message of the new Third to put it into execution. This project has been confided by several very influential deputies to several of their colleagues, who have revealed it to Merlin, and will give him the names of the most active plotters.

CHAPTER XXV

More police discussions — The commissary Miolis — Deplorable state of the South—The *Ami des lois* on the Vendôme prisoners—Fears of Rewbell as to the new Third of the legislative body —Expedition against England—Dunan refuses to make further avowals—Letourneur pursues thieves—Captain Lemarrois—Rewbell's energy — The freedom of Milan again adjourned — The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse commanded by Hoche—The acquittal of the Royalist conspirators feared—Var elections—Moynot d'Opson—Promotions in the army—The keepers of booths—Casting lots for determining the retirement of members of the Directorate—Project of treaty with Sardinia—The King of the Marmots — Complaints of the envoy Quirini — Conference with Augereau and Serbelloni upon the affairs of Italy — New successes — Prussian affairs—Storm at the *corps législatif* — Orders from the Pretender to the *émigrés*—The Tagliamento—Passage of the "great rivulet" — My hundred thousand crowns — The white flag in the South—General Tison—Drouet again—Escape and assassination — Haquin and Grandjean — Cavaignac and Montmayou—Carnot's alarms—Intrigues at the *Cour de Cassation*—Bad electoral selections—The patriotism of Doulcet—New causes of fear—Prussia's pacific assurances—Proposal of Dumas in favor of the *émigrés* — Secret intrigues abroad — Opinion of Carnot about rich deputies—New successes of the Army of Italy —Homilies of the Minister of Police upon the plans of the anarchists—Decision of the Directorate with regard to the independence of Italy — Moreau's audience — A compliment — Calm in the Bouches-du-Rhône assemblies—Its real causes—The agent Kelaldini—Clarke recalled—Treaty with the Pope—Impropriety of the Papal pride—The president Raire—Bad elections—Beurnonville disgraced—Death of Kelaldini—State of Italy—Of the independence of the judicial authority — Explanation of Germain's letter against me—Grizel's dinner at Carnot's—Confidential letter from Bonaparte—The secret of the comedy—M. Desmousseaux—A dinner at Letourneur's—The son of De France—

Enthusiasm for Moreau—Fears of Carnot and Letourneur upon the election of certain Republican generals—Intercepted correspondence — Instructions to our ambassador in Prussia — After dinner at Letourneur's—Vieillard—Moreau, Hoche, and Bonaparte compared—A quarrel at the Ancients—Fresh slaughter in the South—The deputies Page and Saladin—Three armies commanded by Hoche—Moreau wishes to remain in Paris—My presentiments.

1st Germinal, Year V.—Are all the sittings of the Directorate destined to be taken up with police discussions? Miolis, commissary in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, warns the Government that the Royalist reactionaries continue to dominate and to assassinate; that the communes of Roquevaire and Oriol especially have been stained with the blood of patriots. In vain has Miolis conferred with Willot in order to advise how to restrain the different parties. He states that the commandant d'Aubagne takes upon him to make domiciliary visits to the houses of the patriots under pretext of searching for gatherings of terrorists; that many assassinations have ensued; and that the result will be elections consisting entirely of hostile Royalists. The Directorate is divided, and comes to no decision.

The public prosecutor of the high court forwards to Carnot the request made by the accused for the testimonials of the services rendered by Grizel. Carnot reads the article "Vendôme" in the *Ami des lois*. This journal speaks of a document in which there are names inserted by another hand than that of Grizel; and it states that perhaps it is Carnot who has added them, although it affirms nothing. Carnot, somewhat embarrassed, replies that he does not remember the facts, but that the circumstance might occur without any wrong intention.

2d Germinal, Year V.—There is no dissimulating the fact that the Chouans of the *corps législatif*, as soon as they are reinforced by the new Third, will not fail to impeach the Directorate if it lacks firmness. Rewbell thinks that we should look the state of things boldly in the face, and advise as to how we are to emerge honorably; and that Royalist terrorism shows itself openly everywhere because it is let to go unpunished. The Republicans are not supported. "Why," I say, "do we pass to the order of the day regardless of assassinations of which patriots are the daily victims? We must drive away all those holding authority, whether military or civil, who are not frankly Republican. What importance our enemies have is due to the weakness of the Government." No measure is taken in view of these circumstances.

The Directorate, after a long discussion, agrees upon an expedition against England. Spain will furnish twenty ships of war, Holland sixteen, the Republic twenty, and also vessels for the transport of 30,000 men. Upon my proposition it is decided that all squadron-fighting shall be avoided, and that there shall be no leaving the ports until the great fleet is at sea and united. Truguet will confer with the allied powers.

Duverne de Presle, reassured by I know not what party, will make no further avowals.

Letourneur has received important information as to a meeting of robbers which took place in a certain quarter of Paris. He tells us that he has sent Captain Lemarrois with twenty-five grenadiers to arrest them. This was already usurping the rights of the gendarmerie. Encouraged by these hateful

enterprises, Letourneur proposes to discharge himself the police duties of the capital. "We shall now be able to sleep in peace," says Rewbell. "As for me, I am no braggart, and am not fond of sword-play; but I am not afraid of those who are forever passing on to others the fear they have had themselves. In the old *régime* I made the Government and the keeper of the seals tremble, and I defied the *lettres de cachet.* I do not feel less strong in confronting the *corps législatif*, and even the *Cour de Cassation.* My anger is of an awkward kind, for it is lasting. I do not seek to fight, but I never refuse when it is necessary, and then I kill my man."

The Prince of the Peace seems to reject the proposals to cede Louisiana in exchange for Sardinia, which the King of Piedmont would give for Mantua, if Milan is not free. More evasions. Let us pronounce its freedom. Such an act will impose upon those who wish to consider themselves injured. Again postponed.

The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, under the command of Hoche, has resumed its former vigor and will not be slow in crossing the Rhine.

The Minister of Police fears that the prisoners at the high court will be acquitted. He announces that armed gatherings have appeared in the neighboring communes, no doubt with a view to intimidating the judges.

The elections of the department of the Var have been carried out under the threat of bayonets and cannon by Willot and Moynot d'Opson. Those who have obtained the suffrages ordered by armed force are, of course, declared enemies of the Republic. This triumph corresponds perfectly with the instruc-

tions of the Royalist commissaries. A great number of patriots are now shut up in prison. What is to become of them? They are not claimed and defended as are the Royalists.

The Minister of War presents a scheme for promotions. I ask that, prior to any discussion, the Directorate shall lay it down as a principle that no officer shall be put upon active service who has not taken part in the war for liberty. The Minister of War replies, "The Directorate shall be obeyed."

The *bureau central*, heedless about the misery of the indigent classes, and not fearing to increase it by harsh measures, has ordered the expulsion of the *échoppiers* (keepers of little shops) in different quarters of Paris, where these unfortunate people gain their livelihood. I consider this measure untimely, and that for various reasons of humanity, and even of policy, the proposed expulsion should be deferred. Carnot supports me, and my proposal is carried.

A report is to be made by a commission to the Council of Five Hundred to carry out a proposition by which the retiring member of the Directorate shall be designated by drawing lots in the *corps législatif*. Rewbell considers this desire of the Council's to anticipate matters neither decent nor constitutional. It is a usurpation of our rights in a matter with which it has no concern, and about which it ought not to have busied itself. The object of the ringleaders is always the same—the degradation of the Government. He declares, moreover, that he would not recognize such a law, and would not obey it if it were passed. Carnot and I

are of opinion that if it were passed we ought to give it effect. The discussion is adjourned.

5th Germinal, Year V.—Clarke has addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a new project of a treaty of alliance with the King of Sardinia. According to the notions of the negotiator, we should grant to that king, dubbed the King of the Marmots, the guarantee of his States against all invasion from abroad or from his own territories. He would furnish 8000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and fifty pieces of cannon, to be sent forthwith to the general of the Army of Italy, to be employed against the Emperor of Austria. In compensation for these supplies and for his island of Sardinia, he would have Mantua and the right-of-way through the Genoese territory, and the guarantee of the present States of the Papal Government. In support of his incredible treaty, Clarke adds that it is advised by Bonaparte, who is awaiting the men and cannon he requires. A long discussion takes place about this absurd plan. After declaring that I would take part in no cession, I agree to guarantee Piedmont against Austrian invasion on condition that 8800 men are sent to Bonaparte without delay, and fifty pieces of cannon. Agreed.

The Venetian envoy Quirini considers himself justified in complaining that the French commander at Bergamo has favored the insurrection of the country against his Government. Referred to Bonaparte.

In a conference between Serbelloni, Augereau, and me, we have planned to give the command of Bologna to a general who is equal to control the outburst of events expected at Rome and in the

States of the Pope. Augereau tells us in confidence that Bonaparte acted treasonably at Mantua when he raised the siege. Then it was that Augereau attacked and beat the enemy. Augereau says that Clarke plays the part of Willot in his dealings with Bonaparte, and speaks of him very badly in other regards. Clarke is not looked upon with favor by any Republican general. Did he not venture to say to the Austrian Vincent that the Republic would hold on as long as it could? The cause of the loss of several thousand men at Arcola, Augereau says, was "Willot's keeping back from me, for the service of his counter-revolution, a half brigade which would have decided the victory *if it had reinforced my division!*" . . . There is indeed some truth in these assertions of Augereau; but it is always the custom of generals to take credit for brilliant successes, and to attribute reverses to others. If you listen to them separately, each one has gained the victory and no one has suffered defeat.

Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo are giving way. The Republican system is triumphing.

While the King of Prussia is resuming a threatening attitude, and is asking for compensation, Prince Henry of Prussia is employing his good offices in favor of the Republic, which he loves. It is not the first time that one meets with more good sense in the younger than the older branches. This is readily explained: in the highest level of social life, as in the ordinary classes, the elder members of a family were the recipients of wealth and power, which usually deceive their possessors; while the younger members were left to themselves, and were better able to make a true estimate of things.

The sitting of the *corps législatif* has been extremely stormy. The Directorate has not been gently handled. Its impeachment has been proposed. I ask my colleagues if this has been the work of the terrorists. But for the salutary fear with which they inspire the Royalists, we should be on our way to Vendôme. Can they not see that their friends are to be found only in the ranks of the Republicans?

A note from the Minister of Police says that the emigrants, returning from all parts, are ordered by the Pretender to be very circumspect, and to await the favorable moment for acting. The defenders of royalty have always had the Jesuitical right of mental reservation.

6th Germinal, Year V.—Since the battle of Rivoli, the Army of Italy has occupied the banks of the Piave and of the Avisio. The Austrian Army, commanded by Prince Charles, has occupied the other bank of the Piave. Its centre was placed behind the Cordevole, and its right was supported by the Adige, on the side of Saluces (*sic*).

The Directorate, whose military foresight has never had justice done it by him of whose glory it was the making, had taken every measure to secure the success of the new Italian campaign. A considerable division, withdrawn from the Army of the Rhine, was directed towards the Army of Italy. Starting from that river, the army corps of which I speak had to traverse the whole of France, in order to cross, in the severest season, the hitherto reputed impregnable barrier of the Alps. This march—the longest, the hardest that has ever been made during the winter by an army corps in those parts—suffered from

no delay, it having been neither suspected nor believed possible by the enemy that he was to be confronted in Carinthia with the same men who had beaten him so many times beyond the Rhine.

It would be an omission with which even my private Memoirs might be reproached were not mention made here of the glory which belongs to the General of the Army of the Sambre-et-Meuse in this memorable operation. General Bernadotte, regarded in this army as the most worthy pupil of the great Kléber, is he who, detached from the Rhine with his column of 20,000 men, marched across the whole of France, giving thus an example of the most austere discipline; while not a town or even a hamlet had to complain of the slightest breach of order.

What must have been the amazement of this worthy general and of his citizen troops to find themselves, on reaching the Army of Italy, received with the most singular prejudice. It is true that the bearing of Bernadotte's soldiers was severe and their behavior that of well-disciplined men, while those of Bonaparte presented the appearance of bandits who had amassed wealth and surfeited themselves with luxury. One of the noisy chiefs of this Army of Italy (afterwards King of Naples) was not satisfied in those days with the *sans-culottisme* of manners and garments. He required honorific Jacobin titles —adding to his name of Murat that of *Marat*. This was the state of things when the Maratists of the Army of Italy addressed the men of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse on their arrival as "*messieurs*," a term which was then equivalent to "aristocrats," now somewhat out of date. Thus the soldiers of

the Army of Italy posed as if they alone were "citizens"; the denomination "*monsieur*" being bestowed upon the soldiers of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse as an insult. The aggressors accused Bernadotte himself of having been unwilling to use the word "citizen." Generals Masséna and Augereau proclaimed in their orders that every individual of their division who, whether verbally or in writing, used the word "*monsieur*," under no matter what pretext, should be deprived of his rank and declared incapable of serving the armies of the Republic. These orders were read to each company.

All these suggestions were the work of Bonaparte, the general-in-chief. They were fomented by him, who feared nothing so much as union, and who always sought to "divide in order to reign." Blood flowed in the unfortunate quarrels that took place; but they were readily calmed through the conciliating spirit of Bernadotte and the ascendency he had over his men. "We shall soon find," he told them, "our best reply to all they have to say when we appear on the battle-field. The Italians and ourselves will be judged in the presence of the Austrians." When about to cross the Tagliamento, he said most felicitously to his troops, "Soldiers of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, the Army of Italy has its eyes upon you."

It was through the impetus communicated by Bernadotte to his own corps, and the emulation which he excited in the others, that Bonaparte crossed the Tagliamento. Thus this passage of the Tagliamento, one of the decisive feats of the campaign, belongs to Bernadotte. He distinguished himself on that occasion by his talents and his sen-

timents, and on the day of danger gave a crushing answer to all the prejudices to which he had been so unjustly exposed since, and before, he joined the Army of Italy. During the following days Gradisca, an important fortress near Friuli, was taken by main force by General Bernadotte. He takes 2000 prisoners; he takes Trieste; he takes Laybach: thus it is that the brave men of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse reply to their detractors. From the heights of the Noric Alps—a barrier which no modern people had as yet crossed—the French had now under their eyes the basin of the Adriatic, and that of the Danube, in the midst of which Vienna seemed to show them the goal of their exploits. Never had Austria been placed in so difficult a position. Bonaparte, always forgetful of what we have done for him, and wishing to ignore what he owes to the brave Army of the Rhine, whose *élite* and well-seasoned men had co-operated so brilliantly in his successes, continues his complaints. He writes that if the Armies of the Rhine cross that river he will dictate peace to Vienna. Hoche and Moreau, each acting for himself, do not wait for this wish of Bonaparte's to cross what the soldiers call the "great rivulet of the Rhine."

The Minister of War is summoned. The passage of the Rhine has been delayed through want of materials for the construction of bridges, and through lack of the funds which the Minister of Finance had undertaken to give and has been unable to supply. The one concern now is to remove difficulties of all kinds, with a view to obtaining an honorable peace and the liberty of Italy. I undertake to find a hundred thousand crowns, to be provided by a house of

business, and would guarantee them until the Minister of Finance can reimburse the amount. My proposal is accepted.

A meeting of Royalists has taken place in the Basses-Alpes. They entered at Pertuis with the white flag. General Tison wished to take repressive measures, when the director of the jury "civilized" everything by determining the Royalists to withdraw. Letourneur tells me that I am prejudiced against Willot. I ask Letourneur if my prejudices are not justified by the appearance of the white flag, of which Willot gave no notice and has made no report; by the daily assassination of Republicans; and by the quiet organization of the counter-revolution carried on under the eyes of that general and protected by him. The Directorate seems to me to be exposing itself to great responsibility for all the blood that has been shed. . . . My colleagues are silent. Letourneur speaks in order to evade the question, as is his wont. He has just been informed that Drouet is in Paris; he must at once be arrested. Carnot invites the Minister to put Letourneur's proposal into execution, which, he says, is the opinion of the Directorate. I reply that it is not unanimous, and that I believe I may state that Drouet has gone to Holland; that if I knew his abode I would not arrest him, and that I would even put him on his guard. If Rovère, whom I regard as the personal enemy of the Republic, were in the same case as Drouet, I should act in the same way. The correspondence communicated by Cochon is very tiresome. As if he had vowed not to allow us a moment's rest, he would now occupy us no less with private offences than with political

questions. He considers it his duty to inform the Directorate that an individual who was sentenced to be put in irons has escaped, and has killed the two witnesses whose revelations had led to his condemnation. There are courts in France: why not leave such a matter as this to be dealt with by them?

The first privilege of generals who have acquired a brilliant position is to begin by denouncing everybody, even their officers. Rewbell requires the dismissal of Generals Haquin and Grandjean, accused of royalism and incapability by General Augereau and the deputies Cavaignac and Montmayon. The proposal is rejected.

Flattery has always had an eye upon persons in power that it may minister to their passions. Certain of falling in with Carnot's ideas by daily keeping before him fresh dangers, the police continues its system of raising alarm. Certain unemployed workmen have proposed to be present at an audience of the Directorate, and expose their position. Cochon's police see in this a dark plot. Carnot asks that the sentries be doubled as well as the grenadiers that surround him. Agreed.

While we are occupied upon a point referring to the anarchist question, we are just as little at our ease with regard to the Royalist conspirators. We are informed that their friends have made further advances to the *Cour de Cassation*, in order to determine it to override the decision of the Directorate, which forbids it to recognize the appeal made against the council of war. Rewbell assembles us at his house at eight o'clock in the evening, and with us Merlin, to agree upon a reply to the

Cour de Cassation, in the case of its sending a notification to the military council. I think we can reassure ourselves as to these new attempts of the Royalist intriguers. The *Cour de Cassation* is still composed for the most part of enlightened men, who desire what is right, and wish for peace, and who, no doubt, are far from willing to give effect to what they must regret to have already so imprudently begun.

The ferment which naturally results from all these party enterprises against our political establishment is naturally transferred to the elections. The Minister of Police reports to us that the primary assemblies are the theatre of violent scenes. The selections are generally in opposition to the Government; but many honest citizens seem animated by a sincere desire to maintain the Directorate. Tronçon-Ducoudray and Dumas have been to Cochon's. They have sworn on their honor, in their own name and in the names of Siméon and Portalis, that they love the Government, and will defend all the members of the Directorate who are attacked, collectively or individually. Carnot adds, "You see how they calumniate these honest agents; they are as good patriots as Doulcet." He believes he can produce an unequivocal proof of the patriotism and of the attachment to the Directorate of the latter by saying that he has several times shown a wish to be Minister of Foreign Affairs!

Carnot repeats that Drouet is in Paris, and that Bergoing knows where he lives. "An instance," he says, "of the pretended patriots who are unwilling to give any information to the Government." I reply that Bergoing would neither be a patriot nor

an honest man if he were capable of violating a secret or a sentiment of humanity. "I am glad to believe that so long as we are here we cannot think without a shudder of sending another representative of the people to the scaffold. If I thought Drouet was really in danger, I would advise him to take refuge with Carnot himself. I am sure that I am not over-estimating our colleague in affirming that he would be as unwilling to repel as to betray hospitality." The arrival of Charles Lacroix puts an end to the discussion. This Minister is directed to communicate to the envoy of Portugal the ultimatum of the Directorate. If the envoy refuses, or if he has not sufficient powers, our Minister will signify to him that he must leave Paris in three days. The Portuguese is designated to us as a kind of English spy who is devoted to England.

Prussia continues to observe her neutrality circumspectly, as far as we are concerned, so long as she sees we are strong enough to hold our own against our enemies. She makes her influence felt by coquetries, in the exercise of which her Minister, M. Sandos Rollin, is a master. With a certain conventional decorum towards the Republican power, the old diplomatist repeats the customary formula of the slaves of his cloth: "The King my master." M. Sandos Rollin came to me in the morning to assure me that his sovereign would not take any side against the Republic. He is ill, as is his Cabinet; and the French Government need feel no alarm. . . .

The deputy Dumas is zealous to justify the good opinion that Cochon has thought well to give us of his political sentiments. He proposes to the Coun-

cil of Five Hundred that they should allow the *émigrés* to return. He meets with much opposition; and replies to Treilhard and Auguès that until this measure is passed the Revolution will not be ended.

It has been seen that the police have been on the traces of Lavauguyon, otherwise known as Prince de Carency, who came to Paris clandestinely to work in favor of Spain, our public friend and our secret enemy. A part of the plot has been baffled by sending away this Minister of Louis XVIII. It seems certain that the ambassador del Campo is also an intermediate agent in Paris of the counter-revolution. The overthrow of the Republic and the substitution of another Five is the last instruction from Blankenburg. At this moment what is wanted is everything or nothing.

In the midst of these political oscillations, credit is re-established with difficulty. Money, which succeeded to paper currency, now exhausted, reappeared with a promptitude and abundance that one might call miraculous; but the amount begins again to grow restricted. It has only been with great efforts that the Minister of Finance has realized the sum of 800 francs destined for the Armies of Rhine and of Sambre-et-Meuse. The latter is quite ready for action. Carnot makes many observations, and says he has many more to make: they have all been heard long ago. The Directorate speaks out, and decides to send without further delay the sum of money and the order to advance. I fear that this order may be delayed. Upon its prompt execution really depends peace, so much desired by Carnot. It will be concluded either in Vienna or under the walls of that city.

9th Germinal, Year V.—The Minister of Police unrolls the list of electors. "Most of them," he says, not without some anxiety, "are marquises and counts." The nobles, although they spend their lives in complaining that they have been ruined by the Revolution, are still among the largest proprietors in France. They exercise in the departments an immense and fatal influence, of which no idea can be formed in Paris, where all ranks are intermingled and unobserved. Carnot thinks that men who are for the most part wealthy, keep carriages and live expensively, will spread their money in Paris if they become deputies. As to the *Cour de Cassation* business, which is not supposed to be ended, Siméon has told Cochon that Portalis and he are not at all sure that they will be able to prevent Vaublanc, Dumolard, and Pastoret from speaking, if the tribunal hears the case; but that the majority will be for the Directorate.

The Army of Italy has just gained a fresh victory. It has taken 5000 Austrian prisoners. Prince Charles is pursued, and the heights of Trieste are occupied by the Republican army.

The Minister of Police has not ended his homilies upon the designs of the anarchists. He says that they have insulted the Royalists in several assemblies. I reply that the Royalists never fail to find protectors in the heart of the Government. "While you treat as Jacobins your warmest friends, have I not seen the deputy Hardi, who has just given you such invaluable information about Calvados, accused by you in turn, as was Jean Debry, of royalism and anarchy? And yet are not they your defenders at the *corps législatif?* And I, first and foremost—I

whose conduct on the 9th Thermidor you know, and my attitude with regard to the return of the Terror —was I not regarded by you this very day as a thorough-going terrorist? Not that I deny the charge, for this term now designates a good Republican."

11th and 12th Germinal, Year V.—The Directorate writes to Bonaparte that the Government does not, for the moment, come to any resolution relative to the conquered countries of Italy; but that it puts no obstacle in the way of their organizing themselves and declaring themselves free and independent, so long as the General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy judges that the French army would not be exposed to any danger through the reaction which this Republican revolution might provoke.

At the moment when we imagined that Moreau was to cross the Rhine at the head of his army, the Minister of War informs us that he has returned to Paris, and asks to present him to us. Moreau is admitted to the Directorate while it is sitting. He felt constrained to come to headquarters in order to expose all the needs of the Army of the Rhine, and to ask for the most indispensable supplies. Carnot is often prepared with compliments for those who please him, and with taunts for those whom he dislikes. He cannot allow Moreau to leave the Directorate with saying in his hearing, "He is the modern Xenophon."

Willot has written to the Minister Pétiet that all is quiet in the primary assemblies of the Bouches-du-Rhône. That can readily be understood. They are composed entirely of Royalists. They will not fight with one another. Besides, their great protector is there.

It is asserted that Carnot knew beforehand and approved the opinion of Dumas about the present war, or, rather, about the system of cowardice that goes by the name of pacification, and by means of which he would terminate it.

The agent of the emperor who treated with Clarke at Turin, Kelaldini,[1] is to come to Paris. He boasts of the confidence the Grand Duke of Tuscany has shown him. I propose to recall Clarke, and in future to deal with the treaty of peace at Paris. The Directorate falls in with this view.

The treaty ratified by the Pope has arrived. His Holiness puts his name before that of the Republic. Rewbell and I object to this impropriety. The copy addressed to the Directorate by Bonaparte names the Pope after the Republic. This copy will be sent to the *corps législatif*. The Pope is to pay ten millions in crowns, the remainder in diamonds or jewels. For the rest, he preserves his temporal power.

Merlin expresses great uneasiness as to the intentions of the military council. Its president, Raire, was with Letourneur yesterday evening. He wished to pay me a visit. I thought this step on the part of a judge unbecoming. I gave orders that he was not to be received so long as he was an active member of the military council.

It is beginning to be agreed that the elections in the departments are, generally speaking, bad. All the more reason why the Directorate should not go beyond the literal execution of the Constitution; that it should rally the patriots, and purify the administrations. Alas! as soon as persons are in question

[1] Gherardini.—Translator's note.

the Directorate is always less able to agree. It is generally believed that a magistrate should be impassible, free from all hatred and from all party-spirit. The Minister Cochon presents many reports upon terrorist and Royalist projects. The former are always listened to, and awaken anger and vengeance. "If they massacre the Republicans it will be disagreeable," says Carnot, ironically. "They calumniate all those poor Royalists. There are really none of them left; they are all resigned to the Republic!"

Clarke asks for news of the project he has sent of the alliance with Sardinia. It is referred to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the injunction that henceforward the treaty is to be proceeded with from Paris upon the bases agreed upon.

Carnot is opposed to Beurnonville's returning to Holland as general-in-chief of the French army stationed in that country. This is no injustice on Carnot's part. He need not have awaited this moment for pronouncing his opinion upon this very third-rate personage: the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse would not then have seen before it for so long a ridiculous braggart, devoid of all talent, and who has left every one, officers and soldiers, agreed upon his merits—that is to say, upon his incapacity to command as much as four men and a corporal.

Kelaldini has died at Turin. It would be attaching too much importance to that schemer to say that Providence watches over the Republic. It is true, however, that this death has deferred the shameful peace which Clarke meditated.

Bonaparte writes that Trieste is in the power of the Republicans. Italy is stirring itself to obtain

liberty. Milan asks to be allowed to proclaim her freedom. The Directorate adjourns the reply as to this important proclamation.

The Minister of Police is asked what has transpired at the military council. Carnot says he has received its president at his house. Letourneur has done the same. When, in the Year II., I replaced the judges of the revolutionary tribunal at Marseilles, I forbade those who were about to exercise those very grave functions to visit me. Such were my youthful ideas upon the respect due to the independence of the judicial power. Possibly those were revolutionary ideas! I renew their expression in a very determined tone.

14th Germinal, Year V.—The Minister of Police places before the Directorate the answer of Germain when his letter to Babeuf was given him in which Barras is discussed. He recognized the letter as his, but he declares that the citizen Barras has never used the trifling language there is a wish to attribute to him. Letourneur is alarmed at the boldness of all these Vendôme prisoners. Carnot greatly eulogizes the courage of Grizel, who had good reason to be alarmed on the eve of the arrest of the conspirators. "Grizel was dining at my house," said Carnot. . . . "Ah! then you were dining with Grizel, or Grizel was dining with you," exclaims Rewbell. "This was making yourself very complacent, very self-sacrificing, very popular even." "That Jacobin Blondeau," says Letourneur, "Commander of the Guard of the Directorate, was much more to be feared than Grizel. . . ."

Bonaparte writes Carnot a confidential letter announcing that 3500 prisoners, cannon, and flags have

been taken in the Tyrol from the enemy. He asks that it may provisionally be kept secret, this being necessary with a view to ulterior operations. Carnot has kept the secret very well. He does not mention to us the letter of Bonaparte until this sitting of the 14th. The public had the news before we did.

Desmousseaux, commissary at the *bureau central* has been expressing himself very vigorously against what he calls the Jacobins—which proves, however, that these poor Jacobins are far from being formidable, since they are now getting the ass's kick. Letourneur commends the firmness of Desmousseaux; such exemplary conduct cannot, he considers, be too much encouraged. Carnot asks that his pay may be increased. Rewbell asserts that Desmousseaux is nothing but a Chouan—which Carnot contradicts. Larevellière has great doubts of M. Desmousseaux' patriotism. He thinks it would be better to replace him than to recompense him. No decision is arrived at.

Delmas, the president of the Council of Ancients, dined at Letourneur's, where were Carnot, Pétiet, and Moreau. He says that the Republicans of the two Councils had united with the Directorate to save the country from the dangers that menace her, and that there must be no further question of shilly-shallying. Their wish is to settle everything before their successors come into office. Delmas adds that Carnot seemed disconcerted. Delmas has spoken about the matter with Rewbell and Larevellière. We are expecting Rewbell. Carnot has been extremely ready to oblige for some days. I asked for a post for the son of the deputy De France (afterwards General de France), equerry to Bonaparte. Carnot

at first urged his youth and his short service. De France was a soldier, and what was wanted was that he should be made a sub-lieutenant. Carnot assured me that he would make no objection. However, to speak of something more important than a simple soldier, Moreau is at this moment more than ever Carnot's man *par excellence.* As his political nullity is quite inoffensive, no great harm is done by calling him the chief defender of his country. Carnot and Letourneur would like to *fête* him. "Let us wait," I say to them, "until the campaign is over—at least, until it is begun." My two colleagues have already an additional cause of uneasiness in the announcement that Pichegru and Jourdan will be deputies. They congratulate themselves on having supported Willot, who, in their opinion, has kept things quiet in the electoral assemblies of the South. Next to Jourdan and Pichegru, they fear most Kléber's admission to the *corps législatif.* Every kind of manœuvre must be redoubled to keep out all these generals, who have their colors and the ascendency which their renown gives them.

15*th Germinal, Year V.*—After a long discussion it is agreed that Larevellière shall propose the bases of a provisional constitution for Lombardy united to the Cispadan Republic. Bonaparte will be charged with the Republican organization of this country, to which Mantua will, if necessary, be added. All this will be effected without the apparent co-operation of the French Government.

Cochon has intercepted letters from the Ambassador of Naples to Vienna, from the Ambassador of Petersburg to the Queen of Naples, to Madame, wife of Louis XVIII., and to the Neapolitan Government.

All this correspondence announces that London and Vienna have succeeded in persuading the Emperor of Russia that the Prussian Cabinet flattered itself that it would guide him. A similar intrigue caused the Emperor Paul to separate himself from Prussia in order to join the coalition. The King of Prussia is spoken of with very little consideration. It appears to be hoped that some day a means will be found of punishing him for connecting himself with the Republic. These despatches will be sent by special messenger to Berlin. Caillard will then demonstrate to that Cabinet the interest it has in uniting the troops of Prussia with those of the French Republic against Austria, the common enemy. If Russia showed signs of wishing to attack Prussia, the armies of the Republic would be at her disposal. Caillard is even authorized to propose the re-establishing of the kingdom of Poland for a prince of the house of Brandenburg.

Carnot and Letourneur, who are always being led astray by their feelings, fear above all things at this moment that the military council will not dare to condemn the accused conspirators at Vendôme. And if they were to be acquitted, what would become of us?

We dine at Letourneur's. On leaving the table, there presents himself in a very familiar manner the denunciator of the Royalist conspiracy, Major Malo. Carnot eulogizes the speech of the public accuser made before the high court of Vendôme. Rewbell and Cochon have but a very bad opinion of Vieillard. He wished to be a deputy, and was recommended accordingly by the Royalist party. Moreau, who was one of the guests, is silent, and speaks of

indifferent matters, committing himself to nothing. This was his style of eloquence. It is not that of Hoche and Bonaparte, any more than his system of warfare is theirs. He waits; they attack: he temporizes; they march: a war of prudence against a war of invasion—this is just the difference.

Delmas, president of the Council of Ancients, has had a violent scene with several members of the Council. The deputy Crey insulted him because he had closed the sitting before he, Crey, had been heard. He called out, threatening Delmas, "We are again marching then to a 30th May." Delmas called him an aristocrat, and gave him his address, saying, "We shall meet to-morrow morning at the Bois de Boulogne." This challenge has caused a great disturbance among the deputies. Barbé-Marbois has mixed himself up in the quarrel. Delmas maintains his firmness. Dumas accosts him, and wishes to arrange this affair. Delmas answers him, "Monsieur Dumas, I know you." Dumas follows him, joins him in the court of the Directorate, and renews the apologies he is charged with by Crey. A fight between the president of the Council and a colleague-deputy would have a bad effect. According to Dumas, the deputies were extremely sorry. The Directorate is angry with them: this quarrel should be hushed up. Delmas leaves Dumas, reiterating to him that this affair must be settled on the field of honor, since it began in so solemn a place.

The Directorate orders Bonaparte to form Milan, the Cispadan Republic, and even Mantua, into one Republic. It will give them a Constitution; it will organize a Directorate and authorities who shall perform their functions provisionally until the peace,

when the people will assemble to sanction or reject all his new organization. The general is to gather round him enlightened persons; the first necessary regulations are to be prepared, which shall be carried out under the authority of the French Army.

Merlin, Minister of Justice, reports upon the atrocities committed in the department of the Var, especially at Pourrières, which the assassins have chosen for their headquarters. Merlin adds that Willot and D'Opson are the protectors of this organization. I ask their dismissal. Carnot wishes for facts in support of the charge. "The facts are certain," Rewbell replies. "Witness all the misfortunes they have caused." Carnot says we must wait until all the members of the Directorate are present before deliberating. Letourneur arrives, who proposes, as an amendment, that Cadet, a secret agent at Marseilles, be charged to go to Toulon and report to the Directorate upon the conduct of General d'Opson. Agreed. I ask, for my honor's sake, that my opinion be inserted in the minutes.

Page, a deputy from San Domingo, denounces the deputy Saladin as an agent of England in Paris. A circumstantial memoir upon this subject is announced.

The Directorate decrees that the Armies of Sambre-et-Meuse, Moselle-et-Rhin, and of the Nord be placed under the chief command of Hoche. Carnot informs us that this is the opinion of Moreau, who asks to remain in Paris. "And what," I say, "do we want with this general here?"

CHAPTER XXVI

The agents of Louis XVIII. sentenced to death—Discussion thereupon—Homeless generals—Resolution passed by the Directorate against the condemned Royalists—Order to cross the Rhine—Ramel denounced—Should the military council be punished?—Troubles at Cremona and Brescia.

The abbé Poule—Attempted assassination of Sieyès—Admirable works of that publicist—His remark about the abbé Poule—Who that abbé was—Progress of our armies—Treaty with Turin—A secret clause—Proposals to the Portuguese ambassador—Oath refused by a criminal court—Danican disguised as a carter—Royalist elections in Paris—M. de Fleurieu—Success of the Army of Italy—General Duplessis dons the white cockade—His examination and dismissal—Rewbell's alarms—Pérignon still ambassador at Madrid—Reception of a Turkish ambassador.

Bénézech's two kettle-drums—Hoche's preparations—Fresh massacres authorized by Willot—Violent discussion upon his conduct—Portland's printed papers—Deputies compromised.

Moreau to command the army of the Rhine—Clarke again exceeds his instructions—Violent scene at the Directorate—Clarke is recalled—Return of Sandos Rollin—A plan—Ruse of General Kray—Report upon San Domingo—Proclamation of the proveditore Bataglia—Bad news—The agent Charretier—He is seriously compromised—Exchange rumors—First successes of Hoche.

Bonaparte again sends flags—Arrest of Jardin and Marchenna—The theophilanthropists—Larevellière's proselytism—Our jokes about the papacy—Powers given to Bonaparte to negotiate peace—The *Messager du soir* and Carnot—Willot elected deputy—Bad elections—Negotiations in Italy—The house of the French consul at Zante burned—Energetic conduct of Bonaparte—Junot—Championnet—More police reports—The woman Didier—My predictions justified—Hoche's fresh successes—The Portuguese ambassador wishes to gain time.

Further complaints against Pérignon—Deplorable situation of the Interior—Willot accepts a deputyship—Preliminaries of Leoben.

Moreau crosses the Rhine—Hoche's advance—A scene at the Opéra —M. d'Arengio to leave the territory—Hoche continues to advance—Leclerc's report of his interview with Moreau—Carnot's correspondence with Bonaparte—Comment of Leclerc upon Willot — Sieyès visited — The Mont-de-Piété — Glorious conduct of Hoche on the reception of the preliminaries—Order as to the wooded parks—Motion of Boissy-d'Anglas upon the trial of the *émigrés*—The preliminaries are brought to the Directorate—Merlin's and Rewbell's mustaches—Congress of Bern—Cacault kisses the Pope's hand—News of Hoche—*Émigrés* at the outposts — Project of an expedition against Portugal — Foreign relations—Letter from Moutet on the Var elections—Frightful disorders at Cherbourg — General Cambray — Félix Lepelletier on the list of the *émigrés*—System of suspicion invented by Merlin.

Petition of André and Amédée Lepelletier—Some reflections—The political deities—Observations upon the treaty of peace.

19*th Germinal, Year V.*—On the 19th, at one o'clock in the morning, the council of war sitting at the Maison Commune condemns to death the agents of Louis XVIII., Brottier, Duverne de Presle (otherwise Dunan), Lavilleheurnois and Poli; but taking extenuating circumstances into consideration, it commutes the capital punishment to imprisonment. This sentence is communicated to us. Rewbell sees in it a refusal to pass judgment, which may cause trouble. The Minister of Police declares that public indignation has made itself heard; that, in order to convey a false impression, the Royalists are reporting it to have been agreed with the Directorate that the prisoners should not be sentenced to death; and that Merlin and Cochon have even been instructed to ask that the sentence might be simply one of imprisonment. Merlin's justificatory reply is not long in coming. He at once proposes to us that we should issue a warrant to send back the

persons charged with conspiracy to the tribunal, on the ground that the military council only took cognizance of and tried the fact of illegal enlisting. The idea is a brilliant one, and Merlin, whose mind is as ready in putting his thoughts into form as it is subtle in conceiving them, has already jotted down at a corner of the office table the form of the warrant. I think that such a measure, very grave in itself, and on account of the consequences it may entail, should not be adopted without reflection; for what requires more delicate handling than to stay the course of justice, even on the part of the higher authority which has the right to hold it in check? The Directorate decides that there shall be a sitting at nine o'clock in the evening to hear all the assembled Ministers upon Merlin's proposal.

Beurnonville asks leave to return to the canonry in Holland, which is called the chief command of the French army there. It is remarked that if Beurnonville must absolutely have a stipend, he can be satisfied by our treating him like Moreau—keeping him here until Hoche has operated on the Rhine. Rewbell asks Carnot if Paris is the settled residence of the generals. Are they bishops who are unwilling to stay in their dioceses? Carnot repeats his eulogies of Moreau.

Rewbell reads letters from the South which reveal arbitrary acts committed by Moynot d'Opson, and give the list of fresh assassinations. The agent Cadet will make a report.

We meet at nine o'clock at Larevellière's. The Ministers Cochon and Merlin produce the draft of a warrant to bring Dunan, Brottier, Lavilleheurnois, and Poli before the criminal court. They will have

to answer the charge of conspiring against the safety of the Republic; but that of illegal enlisting will be withdrawn, as they cannot be prosecuted again for that offence. The Directorate orders that this warrant be printed and placarded. It is inconceivable that Carnot, in the case of an affair that is of a quite special and purely Royalistic nature, should take it into his head to revert to his prejudices. He would have the words "anarchy" and "terror" inserted in the warrant. The Directorate refuses this insertion. It is not to the point, and would be meaningless.

Hoche has received the order to cross the Rhine. Two grenadiers of the *corps législatif* denounce their chief, Ramel, as a Royalist. Carnot and Letourneur would have the factious soldiers arrested. I am, unfortunately, of the same way of thinking as the soldiers: it is that of patriotic deputies. The time will come when a chief will have to be dismissed who has been dishonored even in the eyes of his soldiers.

It is proposed to do away with the military council, replacing it by honest judges. Carnot is opposed to this. I am of Carnot's opinion; it would be laying it down that we punish the tribunals who do not conform with our wishes. I am far from esteeming the present members of the military council; it might be purged later on. It was not without regret that I voted for the new trial of Dunan *et al.* But if, in the belief that public interest required this course, I agreed to it, I am desirous that the Directorate should not be again placed in a similar position. I vote with Carnot. Adjourned.

Quirini leaves with Rewbell a note in which he

complains of what has happened at Cremona and Brescia. A French officer and an *émigré* named L'Hermite have forced the gates of the first-mentioned town. At Brescia a column from Bergamo provided itself with cannon and proceeded to Verona, where it was defeated by the inhabitants. It returned, and is blockaded in Brescia. Bonaparte is to be instructed to prevent the French from taking part in the quarrels of the Venetians, whom, however, it may be expedient to disarm.

A priest named Poule, formerly an Augustine monk and *curé* in the department of Hérault, and believed to be nephew of the famous preacher, has attempted to assassinate Sieyès, member of the Council of Five Hundred. He entered the deputy's house at nine o'clock in the morning, and fired at him with a pistol, but merely shattered his right hand. The assassin cannot destroy the immortal pages written by that powerful hand. The writings, few in number but admirable, of this great publicist, deserve that we say of their author what Mirabeau said of Franklin: "He has spread floods of light." The *Essai sur les Priviléges*, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État?* and his political views communicated to various assemblies, are works that will live as long as liberty itself. He has no less well expressed feelings than he has analyzed ideas. Sieyès showed great coolness when attacked, and preserved all his presence of mind, merely saying to his porter, with an irony quite allowable in a victim, "If M. l'abbé Poule should present himself again at the house, you will not permit him to enter." This murderous abbé is not of such gentle humor as his victim. He regrets that he did not kill him outright; he says

he shall be compensated for his failure, and that all the French Republicans will perish. It is said that M. l'abbé Poule is mad; it is, at least, very probable that he is not a Jacobin.

Hoche has made all his arrangements for crossing the Rhine. Bonaparte must be at Brixen and Klagenfurt.

The treaty of offensive alliance with Turin is agreed upon. The secret article is to the effect that the King of Piedmont shall cede to us Sardinia at the Continental peace. The Republic will compensate him with suitable possessions in Italy. He will take some other title than that of King of Sardinia.

The three following proposals have been sent to the Portuguese envoy: 1st, to exclude English vessels from the ports of Portugal; 2d, to cede to France the territory as far as to the left bank of the Amazon; 3d, to pay the Republic ten millions. Should M. d'Arengio not accept these proposals, he will leave Paris in three days.

The criminal court of the department of the Dyle has refused to swear hatred of royalty. Its members have resigned.

The anti-revolutionary part played by General Danican on the 19th Vendémiaire will be remembered. The celebrity, or rather the notoriety, which the conduct of this disreputable person won for him gave him an excuse for passing himself off as somebody or something of importance, and of obtaining money from England. To gain this money some new stroke is necessary. He has promised the Royalists to go at once to Paris in order to overthrow the Government. The Directorate is in-

formed that Danican, now in Switzerland, is to re-enter France disguised as a carter.

The dissensions of the Directorate and the *corps législatif* are bearing their fruits. The Paris elections are Royalist; they seem to defy the Republic, and even to brave the walls of the Luxembourg. The tutor of the Dauphin, M. de Fleurieu, is elected.

The left division of the Army of Italy continues to be successful in several battles. It has taken some seven or eight thousand prisoners.

24th Germinal, Year V.—It is asked that General Duplessis be dismissed from the Guard of the Directorate for having, after the surrender of Pondicherry, worn the white cockade and the cross of Saint-Louis. Carnot believes that this is a calumny. Larevellière proposes that General Duplessis be called and questioned by the President. He is brought in, and confesses everything. Carnot says that he was introduced by the Minister of Police, Cochon. Larevellière demands his expulsion. This is agreed to, even by Carnot. He desires, however, that the Minister obtain the dismissal of the General.

Rewbell announces that great blows are about to be dealt at the Government. Within a few days he will inform the Directorate of these imminent dangers. Two parties in France are so distinctly at variance that one or other must perish. Rewbell hopes, however, that this fate awaits the Royalists. Should the alternative occur, one will have to sell off one's belongings and decamp.

Pérignon, who so long ago ought to have been replaced at the Madrid embassy, is still there. We are informed that this ambassador is daily rendering

himself, by his incapacity and servility, more and more unworthy to represent the French Republic.

The Directorate gives orders for arrangements to be made for the reception of the Turkish Ambassador.

The Minister Truguet declares that all his correspondence goes to prove that the Royalists are gaining ground. Bénézech, who is present, is interrogated. He replies that he has been listening ever since the beginning of the sitting. This Minister never speaks to the point. He seems to be beating time on two kettle-drums, saying alternately that he detests the Royalists, and that he repudiates the Jacobins.

A very active intrigue is being hatched at this moment in our very midst, its object being the election of Cochon as member of the Directorate.

General Hoche is to make a move on the 25th, attacking the enemy on the flank.

Willot has succeeded. The Republicans are incarcerated, then assassinated. The agents of royalty are in office. The Directorate has taken no steps. How many times have I begged it to act! I have nothing to reproach myself for. I lay on the table the documents I have just received relative to new massacres. They make one shudder, but they are turned to no account.

26th Germinal, Year V. — Another letter from Willot. He affirms that all is becoming quiet again, and that the elections are very satisfactory. The Minister of Police replies by reading a letter from Miolis, commissary to the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, in which he laments the assassinations and misfortunes of which his country

is the bloody scene. The murderers, says this commissary, find their quarry chiefly in the authorities and the agents of the Government. In order to arrest so many crimes, extraordinary means of repression are necessary. It is more than time that the Republic and its laws triumph.

A second letter from Willot to Carnot adds that he has succeeded in repressing the terrorists and brigands in the division he commands, except at Toulon, where, the Directorate not having given him the same latitude, the elections, Willot says, are execrable. At this I cannot contain my indignation. How long is an invisible authority to protect the executioner of the South? Where will the audacity stop which goes so far as to eulogize him? At the Committee of Public Safety, where were men of every shade, its members were immolated to the barbarity of certain among their number. Are such horrors to be renewed; and will not the Republican majority repulse energetically the counter-revolution that is being organized? I cannot, I admit, express these sentiments without a certain degree of warmth. A gloomy silence reigns in the Directorate. The Ministers of Police, of Justice, and of Foreign Affairs, who are present at the sitting, recognize the truth of my observations. No measure is taken. Rewbell concludes that the Republic is nearing its ruin. Carnot does not share these views. He believes that endeavors are made to vex us. I tell him, without any rancor, that I believe he is more vexed than all of us put together.

A Frenchman coming from America, and passing through London, has been charged by the Duke of Portland with two printed pamphlets for Barbé-

Marbois and Henri La Rivière. He has seen a list of the deputies at the English Minister's, several of whom had received the printed matter. Their names were marked with a cross. Dumas, Dupont de Nemours, Lemercier, and many others whose names he does not call to mind, were among the number. The Minister of Police will make his report.

Now that, aided by reinforcements of brave men from the Army of the Rhine brought to him by Bernadotte, Bonaparte has been able to defeat Prince Charles and to get as far as Klagenfurt, it seems, as usual, that he is destitute of all the supplies he had a right to look for, and that he has had to accomplish everything alone. At the very moment when he cannot ignore that our armies in Germany are moving, as announced to him by us, he writes to us from Klagenfurt in the most natural and naïve manner that if he had 20,000 more men he would go straight to Vienna without the aid of the armies of Germany. Their crossing the Rhine is urgent. Carnot consents to Moreau's taking the command of the Army of the Rhine; he sees the necessity of his so doing. Instead of ordering him to go, he puts it as a wish, not unaccompanied by a regret at seeing him leave Paris. One would think that Carnot has a design upon Moreau as a coadjutor in some political enterprise at home.

Clarke informs us that M. de Saint-Marsan has proposed to him to give Mantua and Lombardy to the King of Sardinia, who would cede that island to us. He would then take the title of "Constitutional King of the Lombards." Rewbell, Larevellière, and I reject this proposition. Being unable to give

these people up to the Emperor of Austria, it is proposed to deliver them to some one else. Clarke's behavior becomes more and more blamable. He has already exceeded his instructions by conferring with the Grand Duke of Tuscany with a view to ceding Lombardy to him. I vote that Clarke be censured and recalled. Carnot exclaims angrily that peace is not desired. I ask him for an explanation. He falls back upon Rewbell, who gives him the lie; and Carnot strikes the table with his clinched hand in a fury. As the discussion becomes excited and hot, Carnot and Letourneur think to bring it to an end by calling out, "Well, then, let Clarke be recalled!" Larevellière considers that it would be impolitic to recall Clarke there and then; that it will suffice to leave him without instructions; and that these should be addressed to Bonaparte alone. Adopted.

Sandos Rollin has returned. This morning he assured me in confidence that the Cabinet of Berlin has not energy enough to speak out. This is the first and the surest guarantee the ambassador offers us. It is as good as others that might be given. It sums up the whole Prussian policy.

Larevellière reads a plan presented by a deputy of the Council of Ancients. This deputy, who describes himself as a representative of the people, and is far from being faithful to his calling, advises the Directorate to possess itself of all forms of power; while the army would support with all its weight the establishment of order in the country, which, it is asserted, this assumption of authority would effect. Larevellière is asked the name of this deputy. He must be, at least, a madman who

should be sent to Charenton, or a conspirator who should be put upon his trial. Larevellière refuses to give the name of the personage, and we pass to the order of the day.

General Kray, Commander of the Austrian Army of the Lower Rhine, has affirmed that a truce was agreed upon by Bonaparte, and has informed General Hoche of it. The latter, who does not believe it to be true, asks us for information by a special courier. The Directorate orders, or rather allows, the impatient Hoche to cross the Rhine at once. No truce had been arranged.

The Minister Truguet presents his report and the draft of a communication upon San Domingo. The Directorate does not consider the statement of facts sufficiently circumstantial. It does not desire to make honorable mention of commissioners of the Directorate who are disposed to invest a military governor with full authority over the most important of our colonies.

The proclamation of the Venetian proveditore has reached us. It is directed in part against the French. It will be considered shortly.

29th Germinal, Year V.—Our envoy in Switzerland, Baker, writes that General Joubert's left has been attacked by the Austrians, reinforced there by a part of their army from the upper Rhine; that the French have been repulsed; that the Austrians have retaken Botzen, and perhaps Brixen; and that the rest of Joubert's division, being constantly pressed, is falling back on its right. Bonaparte has repeated by each courier, "Unless the Rhine is crossed, I shall be crushed."

A Frenchman, bearing important despatches from

Charretier,[1] our London agent, has not been able to get the municipality of Calais to land them and forward them to the Directorate. They have been returned, and no doubt sent to the Duke of Portland. Our agent will be seriously compromised. This is a consequence of the order Carnot caused to be made relative to foreign communications.

The deputy Bergoing states that at the Exchange a report has circulated that Rewbell proposed to prevent the new Third from entering the *corps législatif;* that the worthy Carnot alone opposed this measure, which was favored, however, by other members of the Directorate; and that Carnot's opposition caused the debate on the subject to be suspended. The Minister of Police, who has also been informed of this report, admits that the authors are persons of Carnot's acquaintance.

General Hoche has not been slow in using his permission to cross the Rhine. The Army of Sambre-et-Meuse has shown itself worthy of its former reputation under the command of the ardent and able general. It rushed headlong upon the Austrians; overcame them by means of forced marches; took 4000 prisoners, with cannon and flags. The left wing has also been successful. The enemy is retiring on the Lahn. Hoche is pursuing them: they are in good hands.

The arrival is announced of more flags, sent from the Army of Italy by Bonaparte.

Jardin and Marchenna have been arrested. On the 1st Floréal, Larevellière-Lépeaux, pursuing his religious system, thought himself prepared to lay

[1] The name of this personage is also spelled Charritier in the manuscript.—G. D.

the first stones of the edifice of which he was the great architect. This day will be known as that of the founding of Theophilanthropy; for the members of the new sect, under the name of Theophilanthropists, or Friends of God, then began the celebration after their fashion of religious and moral *fêtes*. The title of founder given to Larevellière, or which he bestows upon himself, was perhaps somewhat presumptuous. In his ardor, he asked us to take part in his creative work; but we told him, laughingly, that *a Pope in Rome* sufficed for us, and that a second in the Directorate, since this was what he wished to be, was enough. "Besides," I added, "there is no such thing as a good religion without martyrs. In order to make yours a success, and to give it prominence, you should begin by getting hanged." . . . Larevellière did not seem disposed to carry his apostolate to that point.

2d Floréal, Year V.—New powers have been sent to Bonaparte to treat for general peace. The Directorate wishes to retain the military occupation of the right bank of the Rhine until the Continental peace is assured. Bonaparte will receive written instructions that this condition is to be placed at the head of the negotiations. It would seem preferable to me to give up the right bank of the Rhine, limiting ourselves to the cession of the united countries, and persisting in the independence of Milan.

Bonaparte has still to stipulate a convenient delay for the evacuation of Italy.

The *Messager du soir* accuses Carnot of opposing a debate of which the purport would have been to ask for the annulment of the elections. This is

a kind of repetition of what was previously said of Carnot's favorable inclinations towards the new Third.

Willot is elected deputy at Marseilles. The Minister Cochon says he will decline to serve. Is this election the sanction of so many assassinations committed in the South?

The Var elections so greatly disturbed Willot that he sent 300 men and cannon to Brignoles to influence the choice of candidates. The prisons are crowded with patriots, who for several months have been unable to make themselves heard. Larevellière and Rewbell are grieved at the selections for the *corps législatif* that the greatest enemies of liberty are about to introduce.

Prince Charles, who at first refused to negotiate in any way with Bonaparte, has just sent to him General Bellegarde to arrange for a five days' armistice, during which negotiations may be carried on. Bonaparte, who generally sees no necessity for obtaining authority to do anything that suits his purpose, did not in this case consider that his powers sufficed. He at once sent for Clarke, and laid it down as a principle that the bank of the Rhine should be ceded, including Mayence, and the Cispadan independence recognized, embracing Modena and Massa di Carrara. On these conditions he will restore Mantua to the emperor, Milan's fate to be reserved for discussion. "I have laid down these bases," he writes to me, "and hope the Government will think them desirable. My position has been constantly changing since I have been in Italy. I shall end by being overwhelmed, if peace is not concluded, and if the French Armies of the

Rhine do not at once cross that river." It has been seen how long ago they crossed the Rhine. . . . But it is like Bonaparte's customary egotism not to see, or to deny, what others do. The Venetians have nearly 25,000 men under arms; they have assassinated several volunteers; a Venetian ship has protected in the gulf an Austrian convoy which a French frigate had manned without opposition. The house of the French Consul at Zante has been burned. Bonaparte has required reparation from the Senate within twelve hours. He is awaiting the return of his aide-de-camp, Junot, whom he charged with a threatening letter to the doge. He is about to take possession, through Kellermann, of the main-land of Venice; the nobles are to be arrested, and a proclamation is ready which will reassure the people and guarantee respect for worship, together with security of person and property. The Sicilian Vespers will not recur! It is in vain that the Pope secretly stirs the inhabitants of the States of the Church to revolt.

Whatever Bonaparte may say, complaining as he constantly does in his despatches, it is now more than a fortnight since the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse crossed the Rhine. Lefèbvre and Championnet are on the right bank, and are making for the Sieg.

The Minister of Police spares us his reports for once. He believes that nearly 300 Babouvists are organizing a movement, and that correspondence has been going on with sympathizers of the high court. Letters seized upon the person of the woman Didier announce that a great blow is to be struck on the 10th Floréal. The Directorate does not dissemble its fears; and charges the Minister to leave

nothing undone to prevent disorder. A great means of neutralizing these projected attempts is to print the correspondence. Carnot informs us that a Vendôme grand-juryman has come to Paris. He is a terrorist. Larevellière and I ask that the name of this juryman and that of Dubois-Crancé, mentioned in Germain's letters, be suppressed in the printed correspondence.

5th Floréal, Year V.—The sitting opens. Larevellière and I say that the result of the Var elections is as bad as elsewhere, and unfortunately justifies the predictions of Barras.

Moreau has crossed the Rhine, and Hoche has continued to defeat the enemy. He has taken 8000 prisoners, twenty-eight cannon, and flags.

The Portuguese envoy refuses the conditions offered by the Directorate. Rewbell votes that the negotiation be broken off, and strict orders given for the envoy to leave France. M. d'Arengio wishes to gain time. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is to inform him that, failing to accept the proposals, he must leave Paris in twenty-four hours. The anterior proposals, moreover, will be regarded as null. Adopted. Letourneur pretends to sleep, and Carnot leaves before the discussion comes on.

New complaints are made against Pérignon—so unworthy of representing the Republic in Spain. Over and above all the other reproaches of which he has been the subject, he is accused of mixing himself up in money matters affecting his own interests, and in commercial intrigues of a very far from honorable nature.

The outcome of the correspondence is still very grievous: assassinations, proscriptions, Royalist au-

dacity, preachings against the Republic. This alarming picture arouses the fears of the Directorate. Will it not be the first victim of all these criminal doings? The first measure that should be taken to save the country is to revert to Republicans for the exercise of public functions, and to remove from office the Royalist intruders. If peace is attained, the promise so long made to the defenders of the country of the thousand millions must be kept, and steps must be taken to distribute in their favor the nationalized lands and houses derived from the *émigrés*. Carnot replies that he is preparing a document upon this subject, which he will lay before the Directorate.

The Minister of Police reads a letter from the agent Cadet. He states that the patriots are not incarcerated at Marseilles, and that the Var elections will not be bad. This agent, who owes his place to Cochon, upon the recommendation of a certain very suspicious personage, is still retained!

The Minister of Police, who declared that Willot would refuse to be appointed deputy, states that, yielding to advice received from Paris, Willot has determined to accept office.

The despatches of Bonaparte inform us that the preliminaries of peace between him and the emperor have been signed. They are called the preliminaries of Leoben, because they were signed in that town of Upper Styria, situated thirty-eight leagues southeast of Vienna. Three proposals were sent to Prince Charles by the general. When the letter we have received was sent off, no reply had come from the emperor. To which of the three projects will precedence be given? The

article which would restore Milan may certainly be thought hateful. Can it possibly be accepted? It is, however, very singular that three projects should have been submitted to the emperor, leaving him to make so altogether arbitrary a choice. The honor of the Government, and that of the General of the Army of Italy, are bound up with the independence of that country. In the first and third project this article is expressly inserted, as well as the cession of the united countries in the North and the Cispadan and Transpadan independence, in consideration of making over to Austria the Venetian main-land.

Bonaparte's messenger must shortly be here. He will allay our uneasiness with regard to these unfortunate peoples of Italy, who were urged by us to obtain their liberty, and then abandoned to their oppressors. Bonaparte still ignores that the Rhine had been crossed. His despatch is bitter; he accuses the generals of the Rhine with all his usual harshness. Everything must fall in with his wishes. In his own eyes he is already the centre of the world.

The Austrian Government is indignant at having been abandoned by Prussia. It does not hide its desire to obtain vengeance for a desertion which it calls treason.

Moreau has crossed the Rhine, and taken 2000 prisoners. But he has lost many men, and several of his generals have been wounded. In effecting his crossing, accomplished in the presence of the enemy, he might have taken up a less dangerous position.

General Hoche is advancing on the Upper Lahn,

the enemy flying before him. Is it not deplorable that with such successes there should be a wish to conclude a dishonorable peace?

7th Floréal, Year V.—Carnot was at the Opéra when the preliminaries of peace were announced. He relates that there were numerous bursts of applause, Royalists joining in the chorus with Republicans. The Minister Truguet, who was also at the Opéra, begs to remind Carnot that, instead of the joy he thought he remarked, murmurs stifled the shouts of "Vive la République!" Carnot says he did not observe this.

The Minister of Police is charged to inform M. d'Arengio of the order that he shall leave the territory of the Republic.

Hoche is marching on Frankfort. Each step he takes is marked by new triumphs. On the 3d Floréal he knew neither of the armistice nor of the peace, nor of Moreau's crossing the Rhine. He had no need to make what others made or might make his point of departure. The man of genius conceived his plan, the man of will carried it out. He marched straight on without looking this way or that, and without asking what Bonaparte was doing; while the latter, in a state of envious unrest, always asked of those who came to him, "What is Hoche doing?" He was right in his apprehension of Hoche's glory. There is no doubt that things were so arranged that General Hoche was not to be the first to reach Vienna.

The Adjutant-General Leclerc, bearer of Bonaparte's despatches, has passed through Germany to carry despatches to Moreau. Others were sent by another messenger to General Hoche. The object

of these lively and impatient despatches was to announce the preliminaries of peace to the Armies of the Rhine in order to check their triumphal march. Leclerc, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, who acted as his police agent at headquarters, was chosen by Bonaparte for this confidential mission, not without a certain amount of diplomacy. He thinks to respond to our confidence, or to give proof of his own, by making a little private report to the detriment of Moreau, from whom, he says, he wished to extract a little needful information. It would seem that certain words Moreau let fall, in the course of conversation, showed a feeling of dislike of the Directorate and the Republic itself.

Carnot has for some months written frequently to Bonaparte, whom he calls "my dear general." Bonaparte has very rarely replied. The Adjutant Leclerc was dining with Carnot when that Director spoke to him in praise of Willot. Leclerc avers that he answered, "Willot is my cousin, but I must acknowledge that he is a partisan who is doing much harm in the South: he is its scourge."

Every one felt it a duty to visit Sieyès after the attempt upon his life. Carnot, while paying him his visit, met Chénier and other patriots. He talked with them about the position of things material and intellectual; but as he persisted in going into his views of anarchy and Jacobinism, they disagreed, and Carnot was even treated very harshly; so that the good effect of his act was spoiled by his talk.

9th Floréal, Year V.—The Minister Bénézech makes a report upon the improvement of the Mont-de-Piété. A commissary will be appointed by the Directorate to watch this administration.

General Hoche received the news of the preliminaries of peace while under the walls of Frankfort. Bonaparte sent the news direct to him, as he did to Moreau, without waiting for authorization, by a messenger who passed through Switzerland. One cannot ignore that this eagerness for hurrying on the peace was still further increased by jealousy of the successes of Hoche, who, as we have just seen, had no longer any obstacles in his path after crushing the enemy, and who was justified in saying, "*It is now but a walk from here to Vienna.*" Assured of so great a success, holding his authority as general-in-chief from the Directorate itself, and not having to look to Bonaparte for orders or directions, he might reasonably and authoritatively have refused to accept the news from Bonaparte, replying that he should look to receive it from his government, the one source of his instructions. This is what Bonaparte would not have failed to do. But judge of the difference between the two characters: Hoche, a citizen before all things, prefers to stop the shedding of human blood, and to disarm himself in the presence of victory. This is true glory, which well became the great soul of the pacificator of La Vendée.

The ambassador Serbelloni congratulates the Directorate on its recognition of the independence of Milan.

The Directorate determines that parks planted with trees of more than 300 acres[1] in extent shall be preserved at the sale of the national domains.

[1] In the text, *arpents*. The *arpent* varies in different localities from thirty to fifty-one *ares;* an *are* being equal to the square *décamètre*—nearly four English perches.—Translator's note.

Thirty or forty acres, however, may be left round the country-houses in order to be sold with them.

Boissy-d'Anglas proposes to the Councils a new method of trying *émigrés*. His motion is rejected, and the previous question moved.

11th Floréal, Year V.—An officer of the Army of Italy brings the preliminaries of peace settled by Bonaparte with the emperor, and signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. The union of Belgium with France is recognized; also the independence of Milan, Bergamo, and a part of the Mantuan territory, Modena, Reggio, and Massa di Carrara—under the name of the Lombard Republic. Bologna and Ferrara will be given to Venice in exchange for the Venetian provinces on the mainland ceded by way of compensation to the emperor. The discussion begins, and the adoption of the preliminaries is put to the vote. Rewbell votes against. Shall a message be at once sent to the *corps législatif*, bearing the sanction of the Directorate? Rewbell and Larevellière are opposed to any message being sent until the stage of a definite treaty is reached. The measure is carried—Rewbell stating that he will not sign the approval, but simply the message. His refusal is connected with a circumstance that is not entirely *personal*. When Mayence capitulated, he took an oath that this important town should be one day restored to the Republic Merlin and he agreed that in carrying out that oath they would wear their mustaches until Mayence was reunited to the Republic. Rewbell would consider that he perjured himself if he signed a treaty of which the restoration of Mayence was not a part;

but his heart approves of a peace by which his honor would not be pledged.

Our ambassador in Switzerland, Barthélemy, is appointed plenipotentiary at the congress to be held at Bern for the conclusion of the Continental peace. It is proposed to send Bonaparte to the congress. We reply that he is required in Italy to organize the Lombard Republic, to which he will add Bologna and Ferrara, as has been agreed with the emperor in case the Venetians should not accept. Carnot would like to send Bonaparte to Corsica forthwith, to re-establish there the authority of the law. That the design is to withdraw him from Italy, to separate him from the congress, and to keep him at a distance from Paris, is manifest.

Cacault, the ambassador from the Republic, is reported to have "kissed the Pope's hand." This fact is denounced to the Directorate as a felonious act which renders the ambassador unworthy to represent the Republic in a foreign country. The Minister of Foreign Affairs will report upon M. Cacault, who, he adds, has kissed not only the hand, but even the feet of His Holiness.

Hoche confirms the news that the enemy, after being vigorously pursued, was overtaken and crushed at every point when the news of the preliminaries reached him. He was certain to reach Vienna, and dictate peace. The officer who brings the despatches relates that as soon as the armistice was agreed upon, the enemy placed *émigrés* at its outposts, whose mission it clearly was to communicate with the Republicans. When the general was informed of this, he at once required that the posts of *émigrés* should be removed, under

pain of their being arrested by the Republican Army.

As soon as our military forces are disposable, the Directorate considers it its duty to use them to carry out its policy. There is a project, to which Spain is a party, to direct against Portugal 30,000 men, who would be drawn from the Army of Italy. Spain would join her troops to ours, and, having become masters of Portugal, we should establish there the Duke of Parma. Louisiana, the Amazon, and the twelve millions claimed would accrue to the French Republic. The Minister Lacroix will simply sound the Spanish Government as to this project.

The German princes will be notified that unless they withdraw the troops and contingents supplied to England, they will be regarded as enemies. Our Rhine armies will retain their positions until the emperor has employed his troops to effect the withdrawal from their stations of the German princes. Decided attacks having been made, and assassinations committed, through the action of the Government of Venice, Bonaparte will endeavor to possess himself of that country, if no danger would be run by its occupation. Such crimes cannot remain longer unpunished.

Carnot proposes to cede Parma and Piacenza to the King of Sardinia. Rewbell opposes this, and asks that if these countries are at the disposal of the Republic, they be united to Lombardy.

Moutel, president of the central administration of the Var, writes that Willot and Moynot d'Opson have arrived at Brignoles at the head of 500 troops, with cannon and with assassins from the South;

and that the orders for the elections were accompanied by military display, while shouts were raised of "Vive Willot!"

Letters from Cherbourg announce that General Cambray has ordered movable columns to be formed, with which to baffle the projects for massacring Republicans. These designs were planned for the same day and hour in different departments. The Minister of Police will take measures to stop these frightful disturbances.

The correspondence from Italy states that battalions of Schiavoni have been beaten by the Lombards and detachments of the French army.

13*th Floréal, Year V.*—The citizen Amédée Lepelletier gives me a petition against the inscription made on the list of *émigrés* of his brother, Félix Lepelletier, charged with contumacy at Vendôme. We owe to Merlin's genius this system of declaring every one an *émigré* who does not respond to the summons of a court of justice. Merlin has been all the more cruel in this device, seeing that he has since, in his method of dealing with suspected persons, laid it down as a principle of assimilation that inscription on the list of *émigrés* should be considered as a criminal charge. I have always condemned this iniquitous exercise of authority, which, under a constitutional government, should be free from anything like an arbitrary character. I therefore demand that the name of Félix Lepelletier be without delay declared erased. Carnot is opposed to this, on the ground that it would be taking judicial action without sufficiently matured consideration. I ask if justice can be too prompt when once it is justice. . . . All that I can obtain is that

the demand of the citizen Félix Lepelletier be sent to the Minister of Police for his report.

Although in this case, where it was a question of saving a citizen from an oppressive act that would place him in the class of criminals, and even of convicts who have lost their rights as citizens, I have doubtless, as always, simply followed the impulse of my conscience, which needs no external authority, and, it would seem, can dispense with all justification, I cannot refrain from certain reflections which may be useful in throwing a light upon the character of men. Their passions certainly remain eternally the same, but they are more exposed during revolutions; perhaps this is because it is thought they have a greater right to assert themselves in the presence of the important interests by which they are declared to be animated. When one is invested with great authority one can the better form a judgment of men, because they generally present themselves with their aspirations and needs. It should always be the magistrate's concern to be influenced by no party feeling. I have already confessed that I have sometimes been unable to resist a certain prejudice in favor of the patriots whom I have seen march by my side in the ranks of the Revolution. Who can be sure, when his heart is sincere, of being proof against the impressions that beset him? If sentiment is itself partiality, it will be agreed that it is at least partiality of the most innocent kind. Hence many individuals who have been compromised in various ways in the revolutionary movement have done me the justice of believing they could come to me in full confidence. Among those who have thus knocked at my door, and to whom I have opened it with hearty good-will,

I remembered several who, even when they were entreating my assistance, did not allow me to forget their hostility and even their avowed enmity. The Babeuf affair is a notable instance, seeing that its object was no other than to put the Five to death, I being by no means excepted. Félix Lepelletier was certainly deeply involved in that conspiracy, as has since been proved by the harmless revolutions which have been introduced by their chiefs from abroad (see the History of Buonarotti). I have learned since that Félix Lepelletier had undergone a sort of reaction in the matter of patriotism through his having transferred to Bonaparte the cult that had formerly been addressed to Robespierre. I have pitied him for his twofold error, believing that, as a general rule, patriotism should no more attach itself to persons than to things, and that if a *deity* was wanted, one should not have sought to place in one's pagoda a Robespierre, and still less a Bonaparte, who of all men since Adam has done most harm to humanity and to liberty, without it being possible to find for his fatal actions the excuse of disinterestedness which history cannot refuse to Robespierre.

The treaty of peace has given rise to many observations. Bologna and Ferrara are forced to pass under the Venetian yoke; Mantua, restored to the emperor, will rise supreme above the whole of Italy. Do not the countries of the Venetian mainland still further add to its power; and was the French Government authorized to give up peoples with whom we were not at war? This treaty, which circumstances do not allow us to reject, gives the Emperor of Austria time to organize his armies. He wishes to make us pay the Belgian loans and mortgages. War is only suspended.

CHAPTER XXVII

Measures for replacing a Director—Troubles in England—Different opinions about the deputies—Italian affairs: peace of Leoben—Clarke's relations with Bonaparte—Discussions upon home affairs—Designs of the English on the coasts of the Channel—American refugees—Violent scene *à propos* of the conduct of General Cambray—Masséna presented—Flags taken by the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Captain Infernet—The ambassador of the Order of Malta—My anger at the murders in the South—I withdraw from the sitting—Protestation of Larevellière against the law electing Directors by drawing lots—The proceedings taken by Bonaparte against Venice approved—Carnot consents to Willot and D'Opson being superseded—Louvet consul at Palermo—Cochon declares the terrorists to be powerless—Sambat—The gendarmerie—Message as to the drawing of lots—Responsibility of the communes—Carnot's opinion of Beurnonville—Discussion on the *exequatur* of the law relative to drawing lots—List of the Ten—The *exequatur* again—Carnot's walk—Dismissal of the military commanders of Aix and Avignon.

Organization of the Cisalpine Republic—Bonaparte's operations—Various reports about the new Director—Drawing lots—Pathetic scene—The new Third—Pichegru and Barbé-Marbois presidents of the Councils—Barère's election annulled—Jaime, Ferrant, Gau, Mersan, Vaillant, Lecerf, and Polissard—The Chouans on the high-roads—Police rumors—Shall I tender my resignation?—The veterans—About divers men—Letourneur declaims again.

Placards against Beurnonville—Masséna's remark—General Pulli—Cochon proposed for the Directorate—Assassinations in Calvados—Discussion on the position of the parties—Revolution in Venice and Genoa—Illness of the King of Prussia—Protestations of his government—Poverty of the Treasury—Barthélemy a Director—Letourneur's farewell.

15th Floréal, Year V.—Rewbell, after having requested the secretary to withdraw, considers it incumbent upon him to re-

mind us that the date is approaching for drawing lots to determine which member of the Directorate retires from office. He has thought over the proposition, made some time since, that the member against whom the drawing goes shall be considered as tendering his resignation at once, so that his successor may be nominated by the present *corps législatif* before the new Third comes into power. It will be readily understood that those who are only waiting this new Third to feel their position established, cannot agree with Rewbell. His opinion, in which I participate, is set aside. We reflect that, after all, we might have seemed to fear the new-comers, and that we ought not to employ against them cunning or underhand dealing. If necessary, we must face them boldly. This course will be more worthy of us! It is simply decided that to the retiring member shall be given three horses and his carriage, with the ten thousand francs put into the common purse by each of us from our stipend, which will amount to forty thousand francs. Here is the sum total of directorial luxury! But the Spartans of those days did not find even that over modest. It was also agreed that the members who remained in office should undertake, as a matter of honor, to protect their retiring colleague from malevolence.

Letters from London state that there is much disorder among the ships' crews and in the ports of England; that the soldiery are rising and asking for their pay; and that their officers are kept under surveillance.

Letourneur and Carnot propose to employ General Menou. They have forgotten the commission of the Five. "Menou has no means of living," Carnot says. I reply, "Give him a retiring pension, and employ none but professed Republicans." Carnot congratulates himself upon the attachment to the Constitution and Government of which the deputies Dumolard, Portalis, and Siméon give daily proof. "I have no belief in them at all," Rewbell says. "And I have just as little," adds Larevellière, "in Boissy. His behavior is very different from his language. His patriotism is as false as his bravery. Look at that much-vaunted affair of his of the 1st Prairial, when he thought he displayed the intrepidity of a Coligny. Unlike Coligny, not only did our Boissy not die, not only did he not get a scratch, but so little meritorious was his resistance that it amounted to mere passive fear. He found himself between two pikes: one on his left, the other on his right; and he did not budge. This is the

whole history of Boissy on the 1st Prairial. It was a case of abject fear, which has since been paraded as heroism."

The Directorate, in order to honor and encourage the armies, has seen with pleasure that the more distinguished officers have from time to time been charged with missions which gave the Directorate an opportunity of treating them with affection and consideration. The union of the French warriors with the civil power was an advantageous spectacle for the Republic and for Europe itself. One of those who since the opening of the campaign has given most proofs of military ability, General Masséna, is commissioned to bring the ratification of the preliminaries of Leoben. Bonaparte thinks it will be possible to terminate the peace in Italy; he sees much inconvenience in a congress. He complains of the Venetian States, and wishes to declare war against them. War really exists, for the preliminary articles take from Venice its main-land territories in favor of the emperor. Rewbell does not believe in giving Milan its independence so long as the emperor is master of Mantua. We are cheated: on the States of Venice being shortly ceded to Austria, she will become a commercial power. Carnot thinks that Mantua should not have been given up to the emperor, and he shares our uneasiness as to Milan, the maintenance of which will necessitate war. Carnot enunciates a project which, it seems to him, will conciliate everything—the establishment of representative governments. Leclerc returns to Italy, and says he has received from Carnot a recommendation to submit to Bonaparte his desire to give Milan to the infant Duke of Parma, and to add some possessions to those of the King of Sardinia. Is then the Directorate the advocate of kings to the prejudice of peoples? I ask that Bonaparte may be written to, to the effect that, should Venice be occupied, its union cannot be effected unless it be joined to the Lombard Republic, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua. If it is necessary to find further compensations for Austria, let them be found in Germany. Adopted.

16th and 17th Floréal, Year V.

Clarke, who was specially sent to Italy to keep an eye upon Bonaparte, has become his admirer, or at least he plays the ordinary part of flatterers who, in order to gain their ends, cleverly give to their baseness the form of admiration. This performance the English Gascon has found successful. (It is known that Clarke is an Irishman, and the Irish are called the

Gascons of England.) Bonaparte treats Clarke with respect; and without laying aside the patronizing air he assumes towards every one, bestows upon him an abundance of friendly civilities. He even wishes him to be added to his staff.

Carnot gives evidence of his fear of seeing Charles Lacroix nominated as a member of the Directorate to replace the retiring Director. Lacroix and Bergoing assert that Langlois, formerly author of the *Messager* and now of the *Censeur*, goes daily to Carnot's to obtain articles which that Director wishes inserted in the *Censeur*, his favorite journal. At the moment when victory sent us masterpieces of art to adorn our museums and beautify our country it was a strange thing to see Frenchmen oppose what was so advantageous to progress of all kinds, and had long been awaited in our country. For a long time French students had been sent to Rome that they might imbue themselves with the beauty of the works of art they contemplated. And now we were to possess those very works. Rome itself was being transported to Paris. Without debating for or against these removals, which are the most innocent changes of locality brought about by war, it is curious to see David, who, when afterwards in the service of Bonaparte, so greatly admired his conduct as a spoliator, falling in with the views of a certain Quatremère de Quincy, who figured, and will further figure, in so prominent a manner in the counter-revolutionary annals.

18th Floréal, Year V.

Here is the special memorandum which the Directorate has received upon this subject:

"The two so-called deputies of the Roman people, who have arrived here at the same time as the envoy of the Pope, have, although pretending not to be acting in concert with him, the same aims, and by their intrigues have caused certain unpatriotic artists to petition against the transport to Paris of the pictures and statues included in the armistice with the Pope.

"The most remarkable feature of that petition is David's signature. But the Directorate will know that ever since this question arose, David was more pleased with the prospect than any one else; and only ten days ago he said that none but Chouans could have any other wish than to see brought together so many works of art.

"In order to turn his brain, the Royalists set upon him Quatremère de Quincy. Against so much intellect poor David's

head could not make a stand. He gave way in order to make his peace with his colleagues. The day before yesterday a banquet patched up their differences, and the foolish David dishonored himself by his signature.

"It is well to know that of these two deputies one is a genuine artist, but the other is nothing but an intriguer, known as always having been a ladies' man and a pet of these gentlemen. The Directorate will shortly receive a contrary petition signed by Republican artists."

I foresaw from the first what would be the consequences of the immoral act of landing 1500 convicts in Ireland. We might have expected the English to retaliate, and they were not slow in so doing. Acting in concert with the counter-revolutionists of the coasts of the Channel, 400 *émigrés* have been landed on the Saint-Marcouf Isles. They were in advance of our convicts, whom the English Government has organized in order to discharge them again upon the territory of the Republic under the leadership of officers of the French *émigrés*. Carnot considers this combination of crimes atrocious. I answer him, "Why was it provoked?" In the report of the Minister of Police he states that revengeful acts and assassinations continue in the South. It will be seen with what animosity the Republic is attacked on all sides.

The Directorate, believing, in the midst of these disturbances, that it sees the hand of the *émigrés* among those who are conspiring against their country, is desirous of assailing them at every point; and considering that an exception ought not to be made in favor of those *émigrés* who, having given up the colonies for the most part to the English, would evade justice by pretending to be simple refugees among the Anglo-Americans, frames an order to that effect. The facts and principles of this order are substantially just, but their unqualified severity appears to me to be much too arbitrary. I consider, and I endeavor to prove, that all the colonists who would be included in this measure of proscription could not, in an equal degree, be regarded as voluntary *émigrés*. It is certain that many of them have only left our colonies to escape assassination. Letourneur replies that they are real *émigrés*; that they deserve no consideration in either hemisphere; that the whole matter is bound up with the cause of the soldiers of Coblenz, who enter France daily; and that the same measures ought to be directed against

these enemies, who deserve "to be pounded in the same mortar" as the anarchists. This is how Letourneur expresses himself, who no doubt believes himself to be more humane than the rest of us, because he is daily thundering against the Jacobins. . . . But in the midst of all the attacks by which the Republic is assailed on every side, how can it hope to defend itself if it throws aside the support of the Republicans, its natural defenders, prosecuting them under the name of Jacobins? Thus, passing from one state of fury to another, without ever abandoning either, we have Letourneur, with his customary vehemence, making a fresh attack upon the conduct of General Cambray, commander of the department of the Manche, because that general has thought it his duty to employ movable columns in order to re-establish order. According to Letourneur, the soldiers who compose these moving columns are so many terrorist monsters, and should at once be rigorously dealt with. Rewbell answers angrily that there is an obstinate determination to confuse the patriots with the enemies of the Republic, and that General Cambray's measures are just, and are the outcome of the assassinations committed in his department. Letourneur, more furious than ever, again declares that Cambray and his troops are a set of "monsters" and "ruffians." Rewbell fires up. Letourneur grows calmer, and advocates explanation rather than anger. Matters are adjusted, and the Minister of Police is requested to make a report.

19th Floréal, Year V.

20th Floréal, Year V.—The Directorate assembles in the reception hall. The Minister of War presents to us Masséna, whom Bonaparte has called "Victory's spoiled child," and who has not won that glorious baptism without great sacrifices of human blood. He has shed it in streams in Italy, as freely as he has conveyed to his own store a share of the wealth of that country. But in war all this is called glory, and finds therein its excuse, seeing that upon glory the welfare of the State depends; and certainly Masséna, from the siege of Toulon, to which I called him, to this day, has been one of the most brilliant defenders of the country. The chief of the Hussar Brigade, Auguste Mermet, first aide-de-camp of General Hoche, is commissioned to present the colors taken by the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Letourneur, who presides, places in his speech the glorious deeds of the Army of the Rhine above those of the other armies. We think that this speech must have been

concerted with Carnot. After the presentation Masséna thinks he may take the liberty of recommending to the Directorate a naval captain who, after having honorably served his country, has been dismissed. His name is Infernet. Letourneur calls out that he is an anarchist. "He is what I am," Masséna replies in a loud and energetic tone. "He is my cousin, and he is still more the cousin of the Republic." "Well, well!" Letourneur stammers, . . . "we will see. . . ." Truguet asks my testimony in favor of Captain Infernet. I give it warmly, and propose his being at once put on active service in the navy. The Minister will, at least, report upon the case.

The Prince of the Peace has written to the Order of Malta, in consequence of an invitation he has received, that the choice of an ambassador to the French Republic should be made from among the chevaliers of the friendly and allied powers. The Order of Malta has accordingly nominated a Spaniard. The ambassador Del Campo is charged to obtain the approval of the Directorate.

Cochon reads a letter from our secret agent in the South. Cadet, although devoted to Letourneur and Carnot, writes from Toulon that Moynot d'Opson is acting horribly in those parts; that he employs known murderers, paid by the English and other foreigners, to kill the so-called terrorists, who are patriots. Under the old *régime* such crimes never occurred. I cannot restrain my indignation, and I accuse the members of the Directorate who shield the military chiefs, who in their turn are the protectors of whatever is Royalist and sanguinary. All my appeals have hitherto been fruitless; a report which was urgently asked for has not been made; the Republican blood flows on all sides without moving men who in the committees existing prior to the 9th Thermidor exercised a tyranny which we struck down on that day. No, the French people, too long a victim, will not suffer the recurrence of such horrors, whatever mask may cover them. Every one is silent. The silence does but redouble my anger. I have said what I had to say, and I take the course of withdrawing. Larevellière shares my opinion; but he blames me for leaving the sitting, and he is right.

23d Floréal, Year V.—Larevellière has protested against the law just passed by the *corps législatif* upon the mode of drawing lots to determine the retirement of members of the Directorate. He considers that the legislator has no right to concern himself

in an act that belongs to the Directorate according to the Constitution of the Year III., the Constitution having wisely distributed powers in order that they might be balanced. He insists upon his protest, but no one of his colleagues feels able to support him. Fearing to appear too much occupied about our own individuality, our intentions being quite straightforward, and having, moreover, no personal interest in seeing matters arranged in other than the clearest and most public way possible, we decide that we will conform to the law. Carnot proposes to proceed at once to the drawing; to call in the Ministers; and then, during the sitting, to address the official report of our proceedings to the two adjourned councils.

24th Floréal, Year V.—Bonaparte is to be written to, to inform him that his measures against Venice are approved. The Directorate also adopts his views as to repelling aggression.

General Scherer has been nominated to the command of the 8th military division. Carnot, who says that this general declines, proposes to send in his place Baraguey d'Hilliers. We think we ought to support Scherer. That general will be instructed to go to his post. The dismissal of Moynot d'Opson is required. Carnot wishes to add the names of several members of the municipal council of Toulon, honest and patriotic men; and this on account of charges made by Willot, who ought himself long ago to have been arrested and put upon his trial. Carnot relies upon the authority of the adjutant-general Leclerc, from whom he learns that the army has become favorable to Willot. "Leclerc has publicly stated the contrary in my house," I tell Carnot. He has asserted that Willot, his relative, ought never to have been chosen for a mission of peace; and that, moreover, he was not in sympathy with the Republic. Carnot seems to qualify what he has said. He does not wish to excite dispute, and ends by agreeing that Willot and D'Opson shall be superseded.

The Directorate nominates as consuls several outgoing deputies who were our colleagues at the National Convention. I arranged, by means of a compromise, that Louvet should be included in the number. Will his sad state of health, the result of so many revolutionary disturbances, allow him to undertake the modest consulate of Palermo?

25th Floréal, Year V.—At the opening of the sitting Letourneur asks the Minister of Police if the terrorists are still con-

spiring; if Sambat is still at their head and directing them; and if they still project the carrying off of the Vendôme prisoners. Cochon replies, "They are all of them powerless." This was waiving the question.

The Directorate is busy preparing a document upon the gendarmerie. The citizen Ducros Obert has been designated as a terrorist by Willot and Jourdan (of the Bouches-du-Rhône). This meritorious officer is to be dismissed. At my instance this is to be deferred until the report has been made.

26th Floréal, Year V.—Larevellière, still disapproving the resolution of the Five Hundred relative to the drawing of lots to determine the outgoing member of the Directorate, throws still greater blame upon the sanction which has just been accorded to it by the Council of Ancients, and finds special fault with the paragraph which requires that the minutes of the proceedings be sent to the *corps législatif*. This act is contrary to the Constitution, which accords to the president the duty of signing. Rewbell is of opinion that a message be sent suggested by the unconstitutional character of the act. Carnot agrees with this opinion, and with that of Larevellière. Both retire in order to draw up the message—which is adopted.

The Minister of Police announces that Fauchet, Tallien, and Fréron are at the head of a new terrorist movement; and that the Royalists continue their assassinations. I deplore the supineness of the Government in the presence of so many evils. I ask for a positive mandate to obtain a law rendering the communes responsible for the crimes committed in their districts, and to authorize the dismissal and trial of those in office. The Minister of Justice and the Minister of Police will together draw up a report and the draft of a mandate.

Carnot fears lest the intrigues of Beurnonville succeed in bringing about his election to the Directorate. This would be vexatious. The general has the confidence of neither of the armies. He has never crossed the Rhine; he is not suited to any military command, and still less to an important administrative position; and the worst of it is that his cupidity and instability are on a par with his incapacity. Carnot's opinion of Beurnonville is undisputed.

I was in the country when a summons came calling me at once to the Directorate. I find my colleagues assembled, and looking thoughtful. Rewbell breaks the silence. He will not

give the *exequatur* to the law on the drawing of lots to determine who is to be the retiring member of the Directorate. Larevellière agrees with him. Carnot writes his opinion, which he wishes inserted in the proceedings. This opinion, which is flattering to the *corps législatif*, is to the effect that he votes for the *exequatur* of the law. Letourneur is of the same mind, and urges our putting the question to the vote. He and Carnot are very polite and friendly to me, and wish to explain. I cannot hide my surprise at seeing to-day such a strange reaction against yesterday's vote. Larevellière says there is a wish to sacrifice the majority of the Directorate, and that he will die honorably. I reply that this is not a case of dying; that the drawing must take place publicly, as required by law, and the proceedings sent at once to the *corps législatif*, signed by the president. "Put the *exequatur* to the vote," Carnot and Letourneur exclaim. My opinion is awaited impatiently. I join in the opposition of Rewbell and Larevellière.

Our debates, which have become known outside, bring many deputies to the Directorate. Those who are sincere patriots think that the best way to baffle the perfidious machination prepared against the Directorate is to give the *exequatur*: because if the drawing went against Rewbell, Larevellière, or Barras, the matter would be hushed up and forgotten; but if it went against either Carnot or Letourneur the *corps législatif* would declare the drawing null, the law not having been carried out. These considerations determine us to confirm the law on the next day. During this discussion Rewbell and Larevellière expressed themselves against Carnot in the most violent terms. They even went so far as to call him "traitor." The deputies Jean Debry, Chazal, Villetard, Lamarque, and Bergoing, come to my house to communicate to me the list of names of the ten who propose to offer themselves as candidates for the position of the retiring Director.

At the opening of the sitting the minutes of last evening's proceedings are read. I have reflected that any division among us would give the *corps législatif* a pretext for reopening the question of drawing lots. I therefore think that yesterday's resolution should be annulled, and that the *exequatur* to the law should be carried unanimously. My proposition is, moreover, the result of a conference with a number of influential deputies who fear with me that the drawing would be treated as void if

it were not in conformity with the law as passed. Larevellière yields to my view: he will vote for the *exequatur*, justifying his opinion in the minutes of the proceedings. Rewbell is much concerned that we are so little united upon so important and really vital a question. He proposes that we should declare any one to be a usurper who, having been designated by lot as the retiring member, persists in continuing the exercise of his functions should the *corps législatif* annul the drawing. Carnot considers the proposal insulting to the *corps législatif*. Letourneur, in opposing the proposition, says he does not wish to bind himself; that he will act according to circumstances; and that, moreover, he intends to give in his resignation. He takes up his pen, and avows that he will send it at once to the *corps législatif*. Carnot entreats him to do nothing of the kind. Letourneur leaves off writing, and puts the *exequatur* to the vote. "If Rewbell refuses, I refuse too," Larevellière says. The votes are counted. All the members vote for the *exequatur* to the law for drawing lots as entered in yesterday's minutes. Carnot and Letourneur seem surprised and confounded by this agreement. Rewbell has played his part perfectly, having carried his point of causing this approval to be entered in the minutes of the proceedings of the 27th. Larevellière reprimands Lagarde for not having had the message inserted in the *Rédacteur*. Carnot goes out as if to take breath. He is seen in the ambassadors' hall walking alone, his face covered by his hands, and seeming much affected.

29th and 30th Floréal, Year V.—The correspondence from the South declares that it is impossible to retain there the present functionaries any longer. Some of them cause disorders; others quietly look on. The Directorate ratifies the dismissal of the military commanders of Aix and Avignon. Carnot succeeds in causing the commander of Marseilles, the worst enemy of the Republicans, to be excepted.

A despatch from Bonaparte announces the organization of the Cisalpine Republic. Bonaparte is going to march troops into Venice in order to protect it against the Schiavoni. He has issued a proclamation which places that country under the protection of the French Republic. He asks that a rear-admiral may be sent out at once to command the little squadron he will find in the port of Venice.

It is said that Beurnonville, Masséna, and Kléber will be

appointed Directors. Carnot and Letourneur express themselves against any appointment of a general.

On the 30th, at noon, the drawing of lots takes place publicly, and with all due accessories. The lot falls against Letourneur. He returns to the session-room. Rewbell, the president, sends away the secretary, and expresses to the colleague whom we are losing our regrets and farewells. He even embraces him with emotion, and with tears in his eyes; and presents him, according to our agreement, with a draft upon our stipend for Floréal amounting to something over 10,300 francs from each of us, making in all more than 41,000 francs. Letourneur embraces us all, and is profuse in his protestations of affection. They may have been sincere. Whether as a matter of calculation, or from sentiment, or hypocrisy, or through self-introspection, many persons become, or at least appear to become, better men on the day when they are removed from the scene of their passions.

1st and 2d Prairial, Year V.—On the 1st Prairial, the new Third of the *corps législatif* is installed. Pichegru, returned at the last elections, is elected president of the Five Hundred, and Barbé-Marbois of the Ancients. The election of Barère, nominated by the electors of the Hautes-Pyrénées to the Council of Five Hundred, is annulled. The deputies Jaime, Mersan, Gau, Ferrant, Vaillant, Lecerf, and Polissard, who were previously excluded from the *corps législatif* in virtue of the law of the 3d Brumaire, Year IV., are recalled. At the moment when we are hearing at the Directorate of these first operations of the *corps législatif*, which give us an early revelation of its spirit, the Minister of Police informs us of a new organization of Chouans in the department of the Manche, where they are robbing and murdering. The Minister and Carnot maintain that these crimes are neither revolutionary nor anti-revolutionary, and that those who commit them are simply highwaymen, who prefer to plunder the Government money-chests and to kill our agents. Toulouse is a prey to similar disturbances. The Minister of Police goes on to say that young men are entering Paris from all points who are pointed out to him as terrorists. "May not their motive be," asks Carnot, "to save the Vendôme prisoners?" The Minister should give his attention to this matter, and require the Court to bring it to a termination. Are the same fears expressed as to the plans of the honest folk for saving Lavilleheurnois and Com-

pany? Why were not the documentary proofs of the Besignan conspiracy printed? Referred to the Minister of Justice.

I confess that, after so many vain efforts to save the patriots who have been so obstinately persecuted by this anti-revolutionary madness, I felt overwhelmed with despair, and was on the point of voluntarily retiring from the Directorate by sending in my resignation. I should thus recover the liberty of which I was deprived through functions to the performance of which I was bound by an oath which I could not break without perjury. But having once resigned, strong in the confidence I enjoyed with the Republicans, I should have a right to put myself at their head, and, being separated from the Directorate, to attempt revolutionary changes the very thought of which was interdicted so long as I was at the Luxembourg. This project, which, I avow, I turned over in my head for some days, came to nothing. I was destined to undergo trials of another kind. When I go so far as to reveal to my reader even the thoughts that vanish after reflection, he will judge whether I am a reticent man.

According to information received relative to the combinations that are being planned in the *corps législatif* since it has been strengthened by the new Third, Rewbell thinks that Dumolard, Portalis, Siméon and company are so many positive enemies of the Republic. Agents acting in concert with ringleaders from abroad tramp the different departments in order to propagate Royalist opinions. Carnot answers Rewbell's accusations by eulogies. Several individuals are the object of Carnot's anger. He anathematizes Kléber, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, and Lefèbvre. I defend these latter, especially Lefèbvre, the bravest of the brave, the most capable and intrepid commander of the vanguard the war of the Revolution has produced. Larevellière and Rewbell support me in saying that this system tends to alienate every heart; that these soldiers have rendered striking services, and may render others; that if there is no desire to be grateful, it would at least be well to be politic.

3d Prairial, Year V.—Letourneur, although it fell to his lot to retire from the Directorate, and although he received the indemnity agreed upon, in consideration of which he embraced us, continues to take his seat until he is replaced, and will devote what time is left to him to continue his systematic declamations against the anarchists. He joins Carnot in expressing

fears about the Vendôme prisoners. What they fear is that these men should be set at liberty. But when people are being tried, one must be prepared to see them acquitted if they are not condemned. I cannot help repeating that the term "anarchist" has become honorable since it has been applied to Republicans; it is against them alone that the anger of the Directorate is levelled, while they ought to be protected against injury. Is it not they who bore all the burden and heat of the day? Is it not they, they and their children, to the third and fourth generation, who are accounted responsible for the Revolution, as for a crime which is more irredeemable than original sin?

One of the first operations of the new Third has been to annul the articles of the 3d Brumaire which excluded from public functions, until the peace, *émigrés* and their relatives to the second degree of kinship. Rewbell presents observations upon the repeal of these articles, and also upon the recall of the five representatives who had been excluded. He would wish these observations to be communicated to the *corps législatif*. The Directorate is opposed to this. Rewbell's opinion will, at his desire, be entered in the proceedings.

5*th Prairial, Year V.*—Carnot reads a placard in which Beurnonville is termed a coward, an incapable soldier, a wretched intriguer, and a patron of gambling-houses. Masséna, after having read this placard, said he would drown himself if such a thing happened to him. Beurnonville is far from meriting such an accusation. Two members of the Directorate look at one another and smile, and lead the majority to believe that they are the authors of the libel.

Just as the Minister of War brings the military nominations, Carnot has rapidly written down the name of General Pulli as inspector. Rewbell says he shall withhold his signature from such an appointment, and hopes his colleagues will do the same. General Pulli is a veritable enemy of liberty. The nomination is revoked. Both Letourneur and Carnot express their wish to see Cochon nominated to take the place of the outgoing Director. It appears that they are doing all they can to effect their purpose.

Fresh assassinations are announced as taking place in Calvados. I refer to the measures and orders that have been proposed. The Directorate closes the sitting.

6th Prairial, Year V.—Rewbell and Larevellière do not blink the danger the country is running when one sees the course followed by the *corps législatif*, the assassinations that take place in the departments, fanatical priests favored, the *émigrés* returning from all parts, royalism triumphant, and patriots discouraged. Such a state of things calls for prompt measures, which should be the business of the Ministers of Justice and Police. Carnot is surprised that Larevellière and Rewbell attach any importance to what he calls the tittle-tattle of anarchy. He defends the *corps législatif*, which he styles the preserver of the Republic. Larevellière wishes that all his colleagues lived as isolated as he from all intrigues. Carnot, whose life is one of constant fear, now says that those who fear are cowards, and that there are very few Royalists. Letourneur applauds; and Cochon, who is present, remains silent. Carnot, continuing, says that the priests would not do much harm if they were not persecuted. He turns upon Rewbell for having said that his department had become fanatic, and maintains the contrary opinion, giving General Moreau as his authority, who, having been constantly engaged in warfare in that district, is well acquainted with the department of the Upper Rhine. But Scherer affirms that it is inoculated with fanaticism, and justifies his assertion by the choice of the electoral assembly. "What Rewbell and Larevellière tell us is mere gossip," Carnot says; "I deny what they state, and will prove it to be false." He ends with these words: "You are all three against me. You are the masters. Well, dictate the resolutions."

Bonaparte writes that the Republic of Venice asks him to furnish it with a French garrison. He has just concluded an important treaty with the Grand Council. A democratic government is replacing the Senate. The main-land will be evacuated when the continental peace is concluded; three millions will be made over to the French Republic in hemp and other merchandise, and three ships of war and three frigates. A revolution is preparing at Genoa. The Pope is ill; he asks the Directorate for orders. Bonaparte is to be instructed to favor the revolution at Genoa. He will prevent the holding of a conclave if the Pope should die, and will protect the establishment of democratic governments. The Directorate leaves these matters to his well-known intelligence and patriotism; such are the hopes he arouses (*sic*). The revolution is spreading over the whole of Italy.

The King of Prussia is ill. His Cabinet expresses its regret that it did not earlier acknowledge the French Republic. It proposes to recognize Holland if a fair indemnity is guaranteed to the stathouder.

7th Prairial, Year V.—A communication to the Council of Five Hundred discloses the impoverished condition of the Treasury, and the urgent needs of the service.

Barthélemy is nominated to replace the retiring member of the Directorate. The Council of Ancients sends us the minutes of the proceedings of the election. A messenger will be sent to the new Director. The honors due to this dignity will be paid him on his journey. This nomination is not unanimously approved by the members of the Directorate. Letourneur delivers up the seal, which Carnot, in his turn, receives as president. Letourneur bids us finally farewell, and retires.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Scherer commands the 8th division—My protestations against the bloodshed in the South—Bonaparte charged to remedy matters —Judgment of the High Court against the Babouvists—General Berthier's father—Letourneur Brigadier-General—Bad state of credit in England—Defamatory placards—Anti-Republican proposals—The state of Sardinia—Violent motions at the Council of Five Hundred—Bonaparte's policy with regard to Hoche—Julian and Boissy—Carnot and Barbé-Marbois—Letter from Bonaparte concerning his negotiations—Imprudence of the Genoese patriots — Conversation of Truguet and Thibaudeau — Carnot's brother insulted by the Chouans — Boissy-d'Anglas, Vaublanc, and Morainville—Barthélemy accepted—Assassination of a child of seven—The Constitutional Club—Kellermann's reports on the state of certain departments—Italian projects—The Minister of Police on the alert — Peace overtures made by England—The deputy Tarbé — A call to order — The *émigré* Mauban — Cochon's reports — His severity towards Antonelle — Attack upon the French at Genoa — D'Antraigues — Pitt leaves the Ministry—Barthélemy's arrival—His politeness—Conversation with Vaublanc, Bourdon, and Chiappe upon the colonies—Discussion upon this subject at the Council—Bénézech's negligence —Change of Ministry proposed—Barthélemy's diplomacy—Negotiations with England—Bourgoing—Le Hoë—Pléville le Pelley—Further conversation upon the colonies — Carnot's movements against me — His anger with Spain — Bourgoing again — Fresh disorders — The Foundling Hospital — Shameful proposal of a contractor — Formation of a commission of negotiators with England — Maret and Talleyrand — Kolker — The Royalist conspirators harassed—Projected Irish expedition—Discussion on the independence of Italy—Clark's avowal about Willot's conduct—Instructions of the plenipotentiaries—Hédouville commissioner at San Domingo—The Constitutional Club denounced—Rewbell's opinion of Talleyrand.

8th Prairial, Year V. — Scherer has been appointed to the command of the 8th military division. Carnot complains of the excessive demands of troops and money made by that general in order to proceed to his post. He is ordered to set out at once.

Merlin's correspondence informs us of assassinations at Tarbes and in the department of the Var. The patriots are taking to flight, and the Royalists have rallied; such is the state of things. Moyot d'Opson has as his secretary an *émigré* who has taken part in murders. Carnot still urges that what is announced is not proved. I can no longer contain my indignation. "You repudiate," I say to Carnot, "the massacres of Republicans that have been ordered by your agents. You turn upon them the evils that afflict the South. What harm have these unfortunate districts done you that you should protect their persecutors? My appeals have thus far had no effect on your influence. Blood flows, and you look on calmly. I cannot keep silence. I will let France know what crimes are daily committed in her midst. I will point out their authors and their protectors. Society is no longer in safety; it is in the power of brigands. I venture, however, to assert that the enemies of freedom will not prevail. I am assured of this by the expression I see on the saddened faces of my colleagues."

Carnot makes no reply. His head is bent, unmoved over his papers. Larevellière proposes that the conqueror of Italy be charged to put an end to the horrors that are committed in the South, and that he be authorized to send troops and generals thither with that object. Rewbell and I approve of that proposal; and it is adopted. Carnot is silent. He draws up the resolution. Cochon, too, does not speak, although blamed by me for his want of energy.

9th Prairial, Year V.—The High National Court of Vendôme has condemned to death Gracchus Babeuf and Darthé; Buonarotti, Germain, Moray, Cazin, Blondeau, Bonnin, and Menissier to transportation; and Vadier is to remain in prison. The rest, numbering forty-five, are acquitted. Babeuf and Darthé, on hearing their sentence read, stabbed themselves with a stiletto, but not mortally. The officious defender Réal said that neither the conspiracy of Lavilleheurnois nor that of Babeuf was genuine; that they were two fictions of the Government hatched in the same brain. . . . "There!" exclaims Carnot, at the opening of

the sitting, "there's the whole system revealed! The alliance between Royalism and anarchy is patent!" He states that he has been reading the *Ami des lois* which announces that incredible judgment of the court of Vendôme. He cannot restrain his anger against the editor of the *Ami des lois* and the judges. How can they have dared to assert that *there was no conspiracy!* It pleases him to believe, and he does believe, that it is an invention of the *Ami des lois*.

It is agreed that Bonaparte shall be charged to establish order in the South. His command would extend from the Adriatic to Lyons. When about to confer on him his new powers and instructions, Carnot seems to soften down, and even to wish to be confiding and amiable. He desires to place the father of General Berthier in a position of distinction. "We do not want Court people," Rewbell says, "but men who are devoted to the Republic."

Carnot proposes that Letourneur be nominated Brigadier-General. Agreed.

Public credit is constantly falling in England. Bank of England notes are no longer accepted except at the bank itself, or are indorsed by well-known firms. Ireland is agitated, and an insurrection is being organized, headed by the Duke of Leicester, who has returned his decorations to the Government. The Irish will be provided with arms and supplies. They may reckon upon the support of the Republic.

The placard attacking Beurnonville was printed in Paris. Another, directed against Barthélemy, was ready. A member of the Council of Ancients wished to put off his nomination in order that the placard might become known, and produce its effect. The Council refused, and the meditated diatribe remained at the printer's. The reports of the Police state that these two placards were drawn up by the employer of the deputy Lacuée, who appears to have been simply employed to distribute them.

The deputy Pastoret moves that the laws against those who surrendered Toulon be repealed. Another member proposes that the *juges de paix* be deprived of the power of arresting individuals charged with emigrating.

11th Prairial, Year V. — The correspondence of the Ambassador of Sardinia in Paris, and letters from Genoa, announce disturbances in the last-named city. There, as in Venice, the people would free themselves from the yoke of the insolent aris-

tocracy. The King of Sardinia shows signs of fear for his states. He wishes the Genoese insurrection to be suppressed, and that he should be tranquillized by the possession of Savona and some of the cantons of the mainland. The Directorate proceeds to the order of the day.

At the Council of Five Hundred motion succeeds motion against Truguet, against the agents of the Directorate, and against the Directorate itself. The Royalists go so far as to accuse the Republicans of their own crimes. The Government could have saved the Republic if it had taken severe measures. The time is approaching when these will have to be terrible, if ruin is to be averted. Let us resume the frank, unanimous attitude we took up in the early days of our installation; let us look in the face the fatal consequences of disunion, whether within or beyond France. In Italy the aristocracy is bestirring itself; in Holland the stathouderites of '87 have a preponderance which must lead to grave consequences. The Directorate makes no resolution.

At the moment when General Hoche has just reconquered the banks of the Rhine and obtained peace in those parts, it is thought, during this interval, that his activity may be beneficially employed outside France. This idea seems to have occurred to Bonaparte, who, while with his army in Italy, reflecting upon Hoche's career, and constantly inquiring about him, hinted to Carnot, through a safe source, that it would be useful to send to San Domingo the pacificator of La Vendée. This title, which is doubtless very glorious, and to which Hoche has a perfect right, Bonaparte is fond of applying to him in an exclusive way, in order that the warrior may be forgotten who carried the lines of Weissemburg and saved the Alsace in 1793, two years before Bonaparte appeared on the scenes in Italy. Great powers and a considerable number of troops would be given to this general, isolated from France by the broad sea; and the double purpose would be served of getting rid of a very determined Republican, whose glorious achievements render him an obstacle in the way of Bonaparte's ambitious projects, and at the same time of exterminating his troops of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, whose Republican principles are very dangerous. Carnot, whose morality is pure when he is not led astray by his passions, is suspicious of this idea of sending Hoche to a distance, when he connects it with the person who suggested it. He objects that it is the *corps législatif* that administers the colonial establish-

ments, and that it is convenient to await the results of its deliberations with a view to harmonious action. If this leads to the rejection of Bonaparte's bad advice to the Republic, shall we see him eventually recur to his notion of using the colonies for the extermination of the Republican soldiers, and of making of San Domingo one of the vast tombs that are to swallow up the Army of the Rhine?

Julian, who was formerly a colleague of Freron's at Marseilles, and still retains some regard for the Republic, informs me that the deputy Boissy speaks very highly of me. If it is true that this deputy expresses so much regard for me, this will lead me to believe he is frightened, and that the actions of the Directorate are not so lightly esteemed by the Royalists as one believed.

12th Prairial, Year V.—Carnot, on opening the sitting, takes Rewbell aside to tell him that the President of the Ancients, Barbé-Marbois, is a true Republican, and, moreover, a defender of the Government. Carnot would have Rewbell give up his prejudice against that deputy. The arrival of the Minister Merlin interrupts the conversation. He deplores the fresh assassinations committed in several districts of France. I repeat my proposal that the Government should cause the authors of these crimes to be punished, and am interrupted by the arrival of a letter from Bonaparte. It announces that he is preparing with the Marquis de Gallo the preliminaries of a definite peace with the emperor. In conformity with the instructions of the Directorate, the congress of all the allies will be prevented.

At Genoa the patriots have acted imprudently. They made a violent attack upon the Government (which defeated them) at the very moment when it was deliberating upon following the example of Venice.

Truguet informs the Directorate of a conversation he has had at his house with Thibaudeau. That deputy called upon him to say—in confidence, it is true, and very mysteriously—that he was "greatly attached to the Directorate;" and that he was defending it against the attacks directed against it at that moment by the Royalists of Clichy. . . . Truguet seems to conclude from this that Thibaudeau will side with the Republicans. Why, if this is so, does Thibaudeau express civic sentiments in a whisper, and contrary sentiments aloud? Does he want to eat at several racks at once? Why does he act such a part that

the anti-revolutionists feel justified in reckoning him as one of their number?

13th Prairial, Year V.—Carnot complains that his brother has been insulted at Châlons, and his windows broken by refractory priests and Chouans. We tell him that he is mistaken; that they are terrorists in disguise. He says it is no laughing matter, and that he is only too certain of the truth of what he has stated. Thus, notwithstanding all his anti-revolutionary prejudices, it is evident that the former member of the Committee on Public Safety would be no more spared than any one else. It is not a rare thing to see men who support with the greatest indifference the misfortunes of others, very susceptible indeed about whatever affects them personally. Carnot, who cannot be moved to show the least anger against Royalists who murder Republicans, is much more than angry with those who have failed in their respect for his brother. He asks that the registrar of Châlons, who is suspected of having provoked the insult to which his brother was subjected, be removed to a distant place of residence.

The deputies Boissy-d'Anglas and Vaublanc communicate to me their wish for a private interview. Morainville, commissioned by them to make this proposal to me, warns me that they are hypocrites, but he thinks my seeing them may be advantageous to the Republic. I consent.

A child of seven years of age has been assassinated at Auriol, in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône. In the proceedings sent to us the crime is attributed to the Royalists, who have doubtless seen in the victim a terrorist! It must be allowed that the Royalists are not particular as to age; they begin with the cradle. Their predecessors, the Catholics of the Saint-Bartholomew, were equally impartial. The matter is complacently referred to the Minister without any further determination as to the proclamation, and messages previously proposed are now annulled.

We are informed that at this moment an association of patriots is being formed under the name of the *Cercle Constitutionnel* (Constitutional Club). At their head are Talleyrand, Benjamin Constant, Garat, Cabanis, and Daunou. "Another banding together of anarchists," Carnot remarks. "What! is Clichy a set-off against it?" he is asked. Rewbell says he cannot help feeling some uneasiness when he sees Talleyrand in-

sinuating himself in any direction. He is the eagle of birds of ill omen. "But still," he says, "I think it time some moral force of patriots from outside should be opposed to Clichy. I know too well that if in the *Cercle Constitutionnel* there are as bad men as Talleyrand, there are others who have much to recommend them, such as General Jourdan, Garat, Benjamin Constant, and Daunou." Well, tell Rewbell that these considerations have determined Larevellière and me to approve of the formation of the *Cercle Constitutionnel.* Rewbell sides with us. "Let us hope," he says, "that that rascal of a Talleyrand will be submerged in the midst of worthy men. May they absorb and neutralize him!"

14th Prairial, Year V. — Kellermann has had several important interviews with personages who are at this moment very active. He tells us that the partisans of Royalty are very well pleased with the elections, which they have directed and financed. They wish to avoid civil war, the results of which are uncertain, and might be to the advantage of the Republicans. They find it the safest course to occupy themselves in corrupting public opinion. The Royalists have numerous friends in the departments of the Ain, the Doubs, the Jura, and the Isère. Danican and Précy are tramping these parts. Kellermann assures us that he will discover these fellows, and have them arrested.

Bonaparte states that the conferences upon the definite peace with the emperor were begun on the 7th, and that he hopes shortly to bring them to an end. The Directorate reiterates the order to oppose the election of a new Pope, should Pope Pius VI. die. A representative government must be established at Rome, if the people are so disposed. Should this not prove to be the case, every possible means must be taken to exclude from the papacy cardinals who are hostile to the Republic, and all Austrians and Neapolitans. If we could not, without breaking off the negotiations, refuse to cede Venice to the emperor, we should, at least, retain for the Republic the Venetian islands. Carnot again brings forward his proposal to give Ancona and Rome to the infant Duke of Parma. This we oppose. Bonaparte is further told that it would be well to give Mantua and a small port near the Lagunes to the Lombard Republic, and that we should see no difficulty in the Electorate of Hanover passing to the stathouder as a compensation for Holland.

The Minister of Police comes in, breathless and alarmed, with the news that the Lyons murderers are entering Paris in a body. The Directorate, closing the sitting, tells him to have them arrested.

16th Prairial, Year V.—The Court of London wishes to put an end to the evils of war by treating for peace at a congress. This, at least, is the meaning of a despatch which the Minister Lacroix reads to us from Lord Granville. The Minister will communicate to the English Government our readiness to welcome proposals that aim at the re-establishment of harmony between the two nations. But this aim is more likely to be attained by devoting ourselves at once to treating for a separate peace.

Yesterday Tarbé (the deputy) made his report on the colonies. He considers that the members of the National Convention number so few in the present assembly that they may be insulted with impunity. He allowed himself to calumniate the members of the Convention, but was called to order.

The Minister of Police proposes that the name of the *émigré* Mauban, who left France for his education at the age of nineteen, be struck off the list. "Where did he go to?" Rewbell asked. "Of that I know nothing," the Minister replied. "I only know the law, which is in his favor." The cancelling of the name was put to the vote and carried.

The Minister of Police attributes the troubles at Mâcon to anarchists. Rewbell reads the reports attested by Roberjeot and Guillemardel, who attribute the excesses to the Royalists. After a long and lively discussion, Cochon is directed to prevent the murderers from at least exercising their functions in Paris. I ask that this recommendation to the Minister of Police be not, out of regard for his honor, entered upon the minutes of the sitting. The Minister gives a special report upon Antonelle, one of those who were acquitted at Vendôme, and whose independent character and bold pen, which is always at the disposal of the anarchists, cause some uneasiness. Cochon speaks of Antonelle with a malevolence and a harshness that seem to aim at offending one of the members of the Directorate. I consider that a Minister who speaks of a person who has been acquitted by a court of justice should, as a duty to such a person and to himself, not fail in the consideration to which every citizen has a right in the state of civilization we have reached; and I inter-

rupt Cochon to remind him that the Directorate has never dispensed with politeness.

17th Prairial, Year V.—D'Antraigues was arrested while making his escape. His portfolio was seized. Bonaparte speaks of sending him to Chambéry, but he is nevertheless keeping him at Milan, and speaks of having him tried by military law. These arrangements, which are to some extent contradictory, may be dictated by circumstances; still, they already point to measures that may be adopted, if they have not long ago been taken. We shall soon see what advantage this infernal genius was able to take of whatever fortune put in his way; and how well he knew how to apply everything towards the fulfilment of his designs, which he carried out by all the resources available for the ruin of his enemies.

The news is circulated that Pitt withdrew from the Ministry on the evening of the 13th.

Carnot sees in the Genoa business a means of compensating the King of Sardinia, and speaks of the idea with warmth and interest. We are surprised that Bonaparte, who has the whole of the French army at his disposal, has preferred to employ Sardinian troops in the Genoese expedition.

Barthélemy has arrived in Paris. He immediately called on each member of the Directorate. His politeness is sweetness and humility itself, and carried beyond what is required in a Republic—which, however, no longer affects the cynicism and coarseness of 1793. This first visit of our colleague Barthélemy does not give us the impression that he is a superior man.

Vaublanc, Bourdon, and Chiappe come to me to confer upon the question of the colonies. I consider that this is one of those matters that should be left to public discussion. The claims to which these questions give rise cause party quarrels which are embittered by mutual reproaches, each party feeling itself wronged. If the men of color, who now enjoy liberty in accordance with the laws, are treated roughly, they will think they have a perfect right to complete the massacre of the whites. Bourdon and Vaublanc express their entire concurrence with my opinion.

21st Prairial, Year V.—The two commissions from the *corps législatif* who are charged with presenting the measures to be taken in dealing with the colonies, are admitted to the Directorate. They ask for a message authorizing the sending of one or three commissioners to San Domingo. It was agreed with the

deputies from the Ancients that no further discussion should be entered upon. Tarbé and especially Vaublanc have spoken lengthily and in a very good spirit. The message is agreed to. Villaret-Joyeuse lets fall a few angry words to the effect that the interests of the colony have not been discussed. Vaublanc obsequiously passed me a note by Morainville. He shows to me that the course taken by the colonial commissioners ought to prove to the Directorate their wish to do good. They will not interfere in the choice of agents, for the Government ought not to be influenced; but they will support the salutary measures of the Directorate. One would believe that things have changed and that there is a desire to live in harmony with their new institutions. But we shall soon see if there is any radical change, and if there is anything more than an adjustment of different methods. The first idea was to make an attack upon the Directorate, and to overturn it by violence. The present notion is to surround it with flattery, and to invade by cunning the palladium of the Republic.

The Minister Bénézech, instead of restoring public spirit in the departments, seems to protect those who endeavor to corrupt it.

Carnot proposes to ask for the dismissal of the Minister Lacroix. Rewbell informs me of this project. I tell him that matters must be squared by asking at the same time that some one be found to replace Bénézech.

Barthélemy speaks but little, and is very ceremonious. Diplomatists are accustomed to think that their silence and reticence and politeness indicate genius; if that were true, Bénézech would have all the characteristics of genius. He has another merit—that of wheedling those who he thinks may be of use to him, especially when he hopes to move their feelings. Thus he makes up, in the most friendly and insinuating way, first to Carnot and then to Rewbell. Rewbell, who is not easily caught, especially when his suspicions are awakened, cannot see anything in the language and behavior of Barthélemy but the manner of a very commonplace person. He is not content to say this to us, but must needs let Barthélemy see what he thinks, and he even tells him his opinion in so many words—a rather brutal proceeding on Rewbell's part.

22d and 23d Prairial, Year V.—A further despatch from Lord Granville reiterates the wish to make peace with the

Republic. The Republic replies that it reciprocates this wish. But negotiators must be nominated on both sides. Five days after this reply, Lord Granville[1] asks for passports for the agents who are to treat for peace. He leaves open the choice of the place to be fixed upon for the negotiation. The Directorate orders passports to be forwarded, and designates Lille as the town where the respective plenipotentiaries, furnished with powers by their governments, shall meet to arrange terms for a definite peace between the French Republic and England.

Deputies who are members of the colonial commissions now wish to send provisionally and immediately a general to San Domingo while the resolution as to sending out commissioners is in abeyance. Carnot informs us of this idea. Rewbell and Larevelliére regard it as perfidious. It was agreed, they urge, to send out fresh agents, and now there is a notion that by sending out a general the measures will be evaded which alone can save the colony. The discussion becomes heated; but the outcome of it is that we might, without abandoning any of our plans, send to the colony a general empowered to act both in a military and in a civil capacity. Carried.

The choice of negotiators to be sent to Lille is discussed. Rewbell asks Barthélemy his opinion, and he proposes Bourgoing. Rewbell, Larevellière, and I reject this selection. He then proposes Le Hoë. Carnot supports, and Rewbell, Larevellière, and I oppose, this candidate. Rewbell nominates Gourlade, and Pléville Le Pelley is added. The Minister Lacroix is instructed to introduce the candidates, and to prepare a paper showing the bases agreed upon by the Directorate.

Villaret-Joyeuse and Vaublanc have been introduced to me by Bourgoing. He tells me in confidence that these gentlemen are sent to me secretly by Carnot. We discuss the question of sending an envoy to San Domingo. It is agreed that a general shall not go out unless the *corps législatif* agrees to the exclusion that has been requested of those white chiefs who have been in direct treaty with England and have delivered up our settlements. I have several times put forward the necessity of an amnesty for every revolutionary offence; and I have the satisfaction of seeing my opinion adopted. Beurnonville confides to me that Carnot has for some days done me much more harm by his praises than

[1] Grenville.—Translator's note.

would have been effected by open hostility. In appearing to speak well for me with regard to certain matters to the Clichy gentlemen, he manifests the most serious concern about my intimacy with the Jacobins, whom I receive at my house and whose friend I am. He fears that they may lead me to commit myself to disastrous measures which, however, I have not really at heart.

Up to the present, Carnot has made much of the support and favor he has, in a marked degree, shown to Spain. At to-day's sitting he is very angry with Spain, and declares that she is perfidy itself. He would have her pay not only what she owes, but what we choose to require of her.

24th Prairial, Year V.— Barthélemy once more proposes Bourgoing to carry on the peace negotiations with England. Rewbell opposes him. Carnot points out that the men who have been looked upon as most hostile to the Government may become its most ardent defenders.

The Minister of Police again furnishes us with an account of fresh outrages committed in the departments. The Directorate has become too accustomed to the recital of such crimes to be startled by anything of this kind that is laid before it. It could and ought to have repressed these terrible disturbances from the beginning.

The Foundling Hospital is in a state of frightful penury; more than half of the unfortunate inmates have died from want of milk and nourishment. The contractor who had been intrusted with the catering has expressed himself on the matter in the most criminal terms. He says that he had tendered for this contract in preference to any other, because "children cannot speak and the dead tell no tales." The Directorate orders the contracts to be withdrawn from this monster. I knew him; he is too great a wretch to be even mentioned here. At the same time the Minister explains that this contract, like all others, may have been too greatly hampered in many ways by a Treasury hostile to the Republic, and devoted to the foreign party. The Directorate empowers the Minister of the Interior to expedite in every way the payment of the amount due from the Treasury.

26th and 27th Prairial, Year V.—The Minister Lacroix proposes Letourneur as Minister Plenipotentiary to carry on the peace negotiations with England. There is no reply from any

member of the Directorate. A discussion then arises on the question whether one or more envoys are to be appointed, and whether they will be given two agents and a secretary each. Talleyrand and Maret are mentioned. These two gentlemen have been proposing themselves and getting other people to propose them for so long a time that perhaps we are growing rather tired of continually hearing about them. Their appointment would at least be a relief and a happy means of ridding Paris of their intrigues, while testing their pretended diplomatic skill. In order, however, that the negotiations should not be left in the hands of two such men, Pléville Le Pelley might also be appointed. Barthélemy supports Talleyrand and proposes Kolker. The latter was formerly a Foreign Office agent, and in the Year V. he was given charge of the commission that had taken the place of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "Put it to the vote," says Rewbell. "Your opinion?" asks Carnot. Rewbell proffers the name of Letourneur, who until very recently was our colleague. "Letourneur," echoes Larevellière. Barthélemy, who has good reasons for believing, or wishing others to believe, that diplomacy is an important science, declares that this is a very delicate mission, appointed to discuss the interests of an ancient Europe, defended by skilful diplomatists against a new France—a country with scarcely anything but sincerity and courage at its service. I reply to Barthélemy that I fail to see how the France which he calls "new," but which I call "Republican," can indeed desire to have aught else than sincerity and courage in its service, but that, as we have already proved, such qualities may lead us to do great things and to despise the subtleness of the old diplomats of ancient Europe. I go on to say that if Fate had taken me out of the Directorate, I do not think that I should be in such haste to solicit a mission, especially one which I could not but regard as being beyond my ability. "If you want honesty and ability," cries Rewbell, "have nothing to do with Talleyrand. He is a conceited fop, and the very embodiment of knavery." Carnot decides that Letourneur has the majority. "Put Pléville to the vote," says Rewbell. We are unanimous for Pléville. Rewbell then proposes one Gourlade, whom he warmly eulogizes; but he obtains only one vote, Larevellière's, in addition to his own. Barthélemy votes for Maret. Carnot, who cares very little about the matter, follows Barthélemy's example, thinking that this is my choice. Rewbell

seems uneasy as to what I am about to do, and again speaks in support of his *protégé* Gourlade. I vote for Maret. Rewbell's surprise was equal to that felt by me when I saw him, as well as Larevellière, vote for Letourneur. On Barthélemy's proposition, Kolker is appointed secretary to the mission, which will be composed of Letourneur, Maret, and Pléville Le Pelley. Talleyrand was within an ace of having a finger in the pie; he is out of it now until a fresh chance presents itself.

The Minister of Police and Carnot declaim, according to their daily wont, against the terrorists of Vendôme, who, hardly acquitted, are again beginning to reassemble. These wretched creatures, on leaving the prisons naked and hungry, are narrowly watched. Carnot states that the national accusers have assured him that Germain, after sentence had been passed, revealed to them the plot which, but for their arrest, would undoubtedly have succeeded; that the Conventionals were the most active and the most dangerous. I reply to Carnot that I believe Germain to be a man of honor, but that national accusers who make such revelations are men unfit to hold the magistrature. What is there to prevent our regarding them as impostors?

Truguet lays before the Directorate a plan for a fresh expedition against Ireland. The Dutch have 15,000 men ready; we can concentrate 25,000 at Brest within a month, and land them in two masses in the north and south of the island, where the insurgents await our coming. Carnot thought it more desirable that the Dutch should be allowed to go first; if they succeeded, we could follow. I do not think this a dignified proposal. We ought to tell the Dutch Government frankly that we cannot be ready for a long time, and that they had better consider the advisability of despatching a partial expedition. I add that Hoche is of this opinion, and that for an armament of this kind we have neither the necessary funds nor provisions, and not even reliable seamen capable of commanding it. Truguet tries to show that we have everything at our disposal except the money; that Hoche wants the expedition; that it cannot fail if it acts in concert with the Dutch; that he has no wish to deceive the latter; that we must say to them, "25,000 Frenchmen will leave Brest the moment you set out." Carnot wishes our reply to the Dutch to be limited to the following sentence: "The French Republic will do its utmost to support you." Discussion adjourned.

Barthélemy, agreeing in this with Carnot, expresses his fears concerning the promptitude shown in desiring to give the peoples of Italy their liberty. He maintains that if troubles were to arise in France the southern departments might wish to unite with the Italians. Larevellière thinks this opinion absurd; so do Rewbell and myself. Carnot ends by voting with us.

Clarke, in a letter to his friend General Dupont, has confessed that Willot and the Royalists have absolutely forced five or six thousand Republicans in the South to take refuge in Italy in order to be beyond the reach of persecution.

28th Prairial, Year V.—The instructions of the plenipotentiaries charged with the English peace negotiations are presented. Carnot wishes to leave out the demand for our possessions in India in 1784. He is also opposed to the exaction of the Newfoundland fisheries and an establishment on the coast as a *sine quâ non*. The Directorate, however, adopts these proposals, as well as the *statu quo* of '89 for us and the allies. Rewbell and Carnot object to Spain and Holland being represented, desiring that our plenipotentiaries should look after the interests of those countries.

The appointing of a commissioner for San Domingo was proceeded with, and General Hédouville appointed.

Information is once more lodged against the club known as the *Cercle Constitutionnel*. Carnot pretends that it is nothing else than a meeting-place of Jacobins. I think that the members are merely enlightened Republicans, for among them are Daunou, Garat, Talleyrand, and Benjamin Constant, and these men are certainly not opposed to us. Rewbell adds, "I am convinced that we ought to oppose them with cannon. I expect nothing good to come from any assembly," he cries, "into which the Bishop of Autun is admitted." Rewbell's harsh opinion of Talleyrand dates back to the time of the Constituent Assembly, where he first met him; it is his fixed idea that "Talleyrand is an eminently dangerous man." The issue will show the development and the application of this idea of Rewbell's. I reply, "Do you prefer to protect the Clichy Club?" "No," says Rewbell, "they are merely rascals of another kind, and under other flags." The sitting terminates, as usual, without any business having been done.

CHAPTER XXIX

Hypocritical regret of Bonaparte concerning the peace—Discussion on the state of affairs—Barthélemy's nature develops itself—Lord Malmesbury—Plans of coalition—Measures proposed by me—Split among the generals of the Army of Italy—Irish expedition decided upon—Truguet's policy—Candor of the Directorate—Expedition to San Domingo—Hédouville and Montesquiou—Baker, Minister at Bâle—The portfolio of D'Antraigues—An important document—The Comte de Montgaillard—Fauche-Borel and Courant—Pichegru compromised—Who D'Antraigues was—The contents of his portfolio—The plotters—Purchasers of national lands disturbed by the *émigrés*—Excessive courtesy of Carnot towards Henri Larivière—Dumolard denounces Barthélemy—The *Cercle Constitutionnel* frightens the Royalists—State of affairs—The portfolio again—Absurdities—Willot at the Directorate—Carnot's proposal respecting the accounts—Fresh reports concerning the outrages in the south—Measures adopted—Singular amendment by Carnot—Debate on the *fête* of the 14th of July—Note from Lord Granville—Position of Lyons—Royalist plans—Conversation with Villaret-Joyeuse and Siméon—Proposals for a change of Ministry—A meeting at Rewbell's—The Congress—Evasive conduct of the emperor—Energy of the Directorate—Relations with Spain and Prussia—Police reports—Lyons in a state of siege—Another meeting at Rewbell's—Truguet accused by Vaublanc—Plots against the Ministers—Speech of the Finance Minister on the state of affairs—A crafty article by the Royalist journalists—A new step by Villaret and Dumas—Bourdon and Sydney Smith—A smart reply to Carnot.

1st and 2d Messidor, Year V.—After all that Bonaparte has done in order to make himself master of the peace preliminaries, in which he feared the Army of the Rhine might take the initiative, it only

remains for him to add to his success the hypocrisy of appearing to regret it. Addressing the Directorate as the organ and the natural echo of his deceit, he wrote to us: "Since I have heard that Hoche and Moreau have crossed the Rhine, I deeply regret that this step was not taken a fortnight sooner, or at least that Moreau did not tell me that he was on the point of doing so."

To justify his policy in the eyes of the army, which, in his regard for its opinion, he wished to convince before all else, he repeated to his staff: "How different the preliminaries might have been —that is to say, if there had been any at all! But this man Moreau is incapable of operating an advance; he is a retiring soldier. As for Hoche, I admit that he succeeded some very poor generals in the command of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, and more especially this wretched Beurnonville, who is incapable of commanding a corporal and four men; they left him a totally disorganized and destitute army. But Hoche was probably still dreaming of Ireland when he ought to have kept his eyes only on the Rhine and departed at once. All these voluntary or involuntary delays have left me no choice, and have prevented me from signing the peace at Vienna, as I might easily have done." It was in this way that Bonaparte gave vent to his envy, and displayed it with his usual cunning when, after having done all he could to rob Hoche even more than Moreau of the glory of victory and the honor of peace, he stooped to cast aspersions upon the military conduct of these men, and to accuse them of a fault with which he ought to have reproached himself alone. Why, indeed, had he been

in such haste to sign these preliminaries, and why had he immediately executed them upon his own private authority? Why was he still so anxious, though unwilling to act himself, to hinder others from advancing? Why dare take upon himself to disarm them, as he had done, by despatching special messengers to impose upon them a peace to which they were good enough to subscribe through disinterestedness and true virtue, when they had every right to refuse obedience to anything that did not emanate directly from their Government, their only and legitimate superior? . . . As if it were not enough to present his position in so false a light, Bonaparte prematurely arrogates to himself all the merit of the difficulties overcome. He writes that he meets with great obstacles to the speedy conclusion of a peace with the emperor; he fears lest it be referred to a congress. His enemies wish to gain time, relying no doubt on the troubles they expect, and which they are busy kindling in the interior. Their aim is really to defer the peace, while proclaiming aloud that it is being opposed by the Directorate. The ill-feeling shown in the negotiations goes on increasing in proportion as the aristocracy gains a greater footing in France.

Carnot sees the storm gathering on all sides; he is just beginning to perceive that a counter-revolution is approaching, although he does not yet fully recognize its strength; he has discussed the matter with several deputies. Barthélemy finds fault with the changes made at Venice and Genoa. He thinks that it was to the interest of France to have left the Governments as they were, and that we should have avoided revolutionizing Italy. Carnot, on the con-

trary, thinks that the French Republic ought to desire none but free nations as neighbors. Barthélemy contends that this system of revolutionizing might perhaps be good for England, but that it is not applicable to France. We do not quite understand what difference he pretends to see in this respect between the two countries; it is true that this may be the language of diplomacy, which under no circumstances considers itself obliged to exercise what the vulgar call candor. Barthélemy has already, in less than four sittings, given signs of that nature with which we shall have to cope. The debates are carried on in a tone of such decision as we are not accustomed to hear from Barthélemy; soon his obsequious language will serve only as a means of concealing his opinions. Rather than consent to explain himself clearly, he asks us to cast aside all harsh expressions. That is the name he gives to the language of truth.

The London Cabinet has appointed Lord Malmesbury to negotiate the peace. Lord Granville, in informing us of this appointment, adds that Lord Malmesbury is also charged to look after the interests of Portugal.

The Emperor of Germany is recruiting and increasing his armies; Prussia is doing the same; Naples is following their example; the European Governments are attempting to form a coalition; they have agents in their pay whose business it is to disturb the peace of France. Everything points to the approach of great events. It is most important that immediate measures should be taken. A few regiments of light Infantry should be stationed on the boundaries of the constitutional radius of Paris, and General Hoche should be appointed to command them. Carnot supports me; he even does Hoche the justice to believe him to be the most reliable general the Government has. The Directorate adopts these several proposals.

A split has occurred among the generals of the Army of Italy.

Augereau sends in his resignation; Masséna is dissatisfied; Victor, Bernadotte, and Joubert, all complain of the favor shown by Bonaparte to the other generals, and of his haughty manner towards them. The members of the Directorate will write individually to each of these generals: we shall remind them that the interests of the country call for unity, confidence, and subordination.

The new expedition to Ireland is decided upon. I proposed that the Humbert legion should be immediately added to the ten thousand Dutch. I would also like to inform the Dutch that the French Government is actively engaged in arming twelve vessels, upon which twelve thousand men will embark, but we ought to frankly confess that we cannot fix any positive date for the departure of these forces. Truguet sees no necessity for such a categorical statement; it is a secret of State, which it is permissible to keep back, and it is even a secret of circumstances, upon which no one can depend with certainty: for are we not the very humble servants of circumstances? Although Truguet may be right as far as regards policy, the Directorate still thinks that it ought not to lead its allies into error, even unintentionally. Resolved that the Dutch be told the whole truth of our position, and without keeping back any possible contingencies.

My first voyages to the Indies and the reflections to which they gave rise concerning all the opportunities that the sea and its surrounding countries present to the industry of Europe, had more than once caused me to give serious attention to San Domingo. When an expedition to this important colony was decided upon, I thought that no better man could be sent there than Hédouville. We made the most careful inquiries into the character of all the men accompanying him, both civilians and military. General Hédouville has been appointed Commissioner of San Domingo, with full civil and military power. Barthélemy would have preferred to send Montesquiou.

4th and 5th Messidor, Year V.

Barthélemy seems very much disposed to throw discredit upon our agent, Baker, whose political opinions may have clashed somewhat with his when he was in Switzerland. He would like to get him dismissed. We decide that Baker is to stay at Bâle as *chargé d'affaires*.

I have already spoken of the seizure, at Venice,

of the portfolio of d'Antraigues. It was forwarded to us by Bonaparte with very special recommendations to proceed against those whom he called the traitors named therein. The principal document in this portfolio was the transcript by d'Antraigues of four hours' conversation which he is supposed to have had with the Comte de Montgaillard. It would appear from this conversation that, according to the Comte de Montgaillard, agent for Louis XVIII. and the Prince de Condé, Pichegru, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Rhine, had been approached by the subordinate agents of the very subordinate agent himself, the Comte de Montgaillard; that the general of the Republican army had replied to Fauche-Borel and Courant, the emissaries of the Prince de Condé, that he had always been devoted to the cause of the Bourbons, and that he was ready to do anything to re-establish them upon the throne of their fathers; that all the details of this noble plan were arranged, Pichegru only stipulating that the imperial army should enter France. M. de Condé is said not to have agreed to this, but to have desired that the counter-revolution should be carried out by Pichegru's army, in conjunction with his own and a few corps of light troops, of which he would take the chief command. Pichegru and the imperial generals are said not to have agreed to this. Pichegru, as a reward for his supposed splendid services, was to have been created nothing short of a Marshal of France, with the title of Duc d'Arbois and a considerable income; the Chambord and other immense estates were to have been given him, as well as the blue ribbon, etc. etc.

I give only a very short sketch of this important document, which will presently form the basis of some grave charges, and will be mixed up with great events; but I cannot omit a few details concerning the authors of a document destined to become so famous. The Comte d'Antraigues, the first to whom it is attributed, was a poor country gentleman of Aveyron, who, after setting up a claim to ancient nobility, had added the title and cognomen of Comte d'Antraigues to a string of several apocryphal names. This adventurer is said to have lived in retirement in Venice during the stay of Louis XVIII. at Verona. He discharged simultaneously the duties of a secret Minister to the King of Spain and to Louis XVIII., of a secret agent to the English Government, and of an ostensible agent in the service of Russia. After the departure of Louis XVIII., d'Antraigues had continued to carry on all his intrigues at one and the same time, because they all brought him in money. It has been thought that imagining, not without reason, that there was additional and perhaps more money to be gained in the service of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Italy, he had allowed, or even caused, himself to be arrested when the French entered Venice, on the 16th of May. The marked attention that was paid him after he had been conducted to Milan, the fact of his having had several interviews with General Berthier, and of having afterwards been received by the Commander-in-Chief, would lead one to believe that his arrest might not have been involuntary. Bonaparte had immediately discerned in this inventive plotter an excellent tool for carrying out one of his diabolical combinations against his personal

enemies, whom he wished to ruin by striking a blow at their reputation. It was therefore at the dictation of Bonaparte that d'Antraigues wrote this document, which, copied by Berthier's orders, will one day be singled out by Bonaparte as having been found in the portfolio of d'Antraigues. The imaginary conversation of the Comte de Montgaillard reported by d'Antraigues is thus a double imposture, improved upon by the pen of d'Antraigues, guided by the hand of Bonaparte. The document sent to the Directorate is the identical one emanating from the cabinet of Major-General Berthier; and d'Antraigues received from the Commander-in-Chief as his reward a passport to carry him to Germany, and a gratuity of a thousand ducats. All these curious details were at first entirely unknown to us; we have only heard of them one after the other. They will serve to reveal combinations so intricate that we may well be excused for our simplicity in not suspecting them from the first.

When a Republic whose mere opposition has sufficed to bring it to blows with a powerful coalition has gained the upperhand by brilliant victories, there are no other means of attack left its enemies but hidden ones. It is then that diplomacy steps in and offers the use of its secret aid, that is to say, of its poisons. The nature of its resources demonstrates the morality of those who are capable of employing them. It is the duty of diplomacy to discover at the outset in the Government that is too strong to be openly attacked some weak part where a breach may be made by ruse. Here let me point out that the overthrown Governments, called by some the unfortunate princes, are not more capable

of managing their affairs in adversity than they were in prosperity, and they are therefore more than ever forced to have recourse to intermediaries. They are then approached by officious intermediaries, whose pretended devotion is in reality self-interest, and who never fail to catch the ear of the dethroned potentates. They are, to say the least, adventurers who have no other aim than that of making a fortune, for fortunes may indeed be made even among the débris caused by the overthrow of empires and the downfall of dynasties. Thus, whatever may have been the misfortunes of the House of Bourbon, it is not surprising, considering how many ties of kinship and interest bind this ancient house to all the reigning families of Europe, to find it still supported by the combined resources of its relatives. If, in addition to the many benefits that politics can bestow upon those who make a vocation of them, it be found that Louis XVIII. has still at his command a certain budget upon which his followers may draw, this budget became more interesting when England declared that independently of the public funds to carry on open warfare, she would grant secret sums for the underground war that is called by the decent name of diplomacy, but which is in reality merely a series of plots. Thus, when it was decided by the English Government to place some considerable sums at the disposal of its agents abroad, such as Wickham, Drake, Ador, and others, the agents were authorized to use these against the Government of the Republic in the interest of the Bourbon dynasty. There then appeared the creatures of corruption, who, by their inclinations and their position, wished to take part in the quarry. Such men as d'Antraigues and

Fauche-Borel turned up in different places. These active mercenaries had to be accepted by the Bourbons and the English, but since those who employed them were obliged by the necessities of the case to give them both their confidence and their money, they were enabled to use the latter and abuse the former at will, it being utterly impossible to verify either their reports or their accounts. In this way the French princes and the English Government were at the mercy of the jugglers who traded upon their credulity. The jugglers, to carry on their lucrative trade, had only to look about them and note all the events that the vicissitudes of the Revolution brought in their train, both at home and abroad, and then pose in the eyes of their clients, who were without news of any kind, as having the best information on all points. They thus made believe that they were doing something, when in reality they were only lying and stealing. The outcome of events will show the development of these diabolical creatures, and all the inventions, deceits, and inconceivable stories with which they fed the languishing hopes of the unfortunate princes. But what is even worse than the mystification of the princes is the fact that the machinations of these infernal agents were the principal means of ruining and dishonoring the most irreproachable men, and still more fatal and deplorable consequences are to be seen in the advantages which ambition has been able to reap from these hideous frauds. . . . All the reflections that I have just made can only be thoroughly understood by the light of events that must come to pass. Such events have frequently been useful to me in acting as a set-off against those deceptions of which the passions of

the day and even my conscience have made me the momentary dupe. I resume the course of events which will lead to the dénouement.

Correspondents state that in several departments the *émigrés* are being supported by the administration in disturbing the purchasers of land. The administrations complained of should give some account of the orders that have been issued in these matters, and furnish lists of the purchasers who have been disturbed in their holdings; in addition to this the guilty functionaries, as well as the *émigrés* and those who protect them, should be prosecuted. Carnot believes that a simple letter addressed to the Minister of Finance will be sufficient. The letter is adopted.

Carnot appears to be in league with Henri Larivière; he frequently sends him his carriage, with more courtesy than is becoming to the directoral dignity, even in dealing with a deputy. We address a few observations to him on the subject; he replies that these are mere details of private life that concern no one. The principle is undoubtedly a just one, and should be respected; but "in this case," as the lawyers say, where can we say that our public life ceases, or our private life begins? Carnot was mistaken in wishing to class under the latter head relations which, having no other source than the position of public men, became the more delicate and reprehensible, inasmuch as they were not called for by the rules of private life.

Barthélemy had spoken against the measures to be adopted for republicanizing Italy. Dumolard makes this the subject of a denunciation addressed to the legislative body. The undercurrents are beginning to make themselves felt.

The patriotic club established under the name of the *Cercle Constitutionnel* frightens the Royalists. They demand that it shall be closed, though naturally they offer no opposition to keeping the Clichy Club open. Talleyrand, who has not yet found a place, but is doing all he can to obtain one, does not loosen his hold upon the *Cercle Constitutionnel;* just now it is his principal lever; he will not give it up until he has gained his end. . . .

Agitation in the Republic continues to increase; the anti-revolutionary party is taking up a bolder attitude. Assassinations are more numerous than ever, and the danger becomes pressing; the friends of liberty feel the necessity for rallying.

The legislative body is ruled by royalism; splits are imminent; the Directorate looks on coolly. . . .

When the pretended portfolio of D'Antraigues, sent from Italy by Bonaparte, first reached us, the Directorate only took a very rapid glance at the famous documents, restricting itself to such an interpretation of the contents as the sender had wished to put upon them. Upon a second perusal of the documents it appears that, according to the conversation taken down by D'Antraigues after the alleged interview with the Comte de Montgaillard, Fauche-Borel, and Courant, the emissaries of this Montgaillard had betaken themselves, in the preceding month of August, to the headquarters at Altenkirchen; that they had succeeded in seeing Pichegru; that Fauche had immediately addressed the Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Army in the following terms: "General, you will be Marshal of France; you will be made a knight both of the Order of the Holy Ghost and of that of St. Louis; you will be appointed Governor of Alsace; you will be presented with the castle of Chambord and twelve pieces of cannon, and a million of money besides; an income of two hundred thousand francs; a mansion in Paris; the earldom or dukedom of Arbois; exemption from every tax for yourself and the commune in which you were born for the next twenty-five years; an income of a hundred thousand francs revertible to your wife; fifty thousand francs to each of your children until your race is extinct. That is what the King of France offers you, and what the allies guarantee, if you re-establish the French monarchy.' 7th Messidor, Year V.

According to the report of Fauche-Borel, of which we are offered no corroboration, General Pichegru, commander-in-chief of an army confided to his honor, an honor that constitutes both his glory and his fortune, Pichegru was in no way put out by the compromising harangue of his daring interlocutor; it is said that he did not even wait patiently for the end, but immediately replied: "I will cross the Rhine, and display the white flag; the Imperial Army and Condé's corps will join me. After having purged my army of any men whom I suspect, I will have the fortresses manned by my own troops. We will then march on Paris, but to make the soldiers cry 'Vive le roi!' they will want wine in their stomachs and ducats in their pockets."

Fauche-Borel, as I have already observed—and this point cannot be too often insisted upon—is the only narrator, the only person who testifies to the truth of the dialogue just given. In the course of his tale he pretends to have laid before the Prince de Condé what he calls Pichegru's plan—that is to say, the alleged reply that he puts into his mouth. Now what proofs have we of the truth of this dialogue? Does not everything, on the contrary, tend to show that he who poses as the narrator has himself furnished everything necessary to prove that he is the author of a tale concocted with so little skill? The author of the farce, distributing the parts at will, and making his actors speak as he pleases, might surely have made them less blunt and possessed of more *finesse*, or might at least have given the whole thing an air of greater probability, even while introducing the versions given.

According to the version which Fauche-Borel

continues to hold up as an authentic record of his mission (but of which, I repeat, no corroborative evidence has ever been furnished by the principal actors), he claims to have laid before the Prince de Condé what he calls Pichegru's plan; but what was the moment chosen by Fauche-Borel for his first alleged operation? It was just when the Committee of Public Safety, and the four representatives of the people who were with the army, were pressing Pichegru to cross the Rhine. Merlin de Thionville was one of these representatives of the people, and he of all men can hardly be suspected of having aided Pichegru in forming a treasonable plot for the profit of royalty; on the contrary, it is very certain that he would have blown the general's brains out if he had had the least suspicion of the possibility of such an idea. It will be seen that the delegates of M. de Montgaillard had chosen the right moment for making their seductive proposals to a general of the French Army. Besides, although I have no predilection for the man accused in these documents, I can find nothing against Pichegru but some assertions on the part of subordinate agents which do not even prove that they have spoken to him, and nothing written by his hand nor bearing his signature has been produced.... The version of Fauche-Borel, the emissary of Montgaillard, further states that the Prince de Condé refused to communicate his plan to General Würmser. The prince would appear, according to the denunciations of Fauche-Borel, to have had fears born of rivalry, and to have desired Pichegru, instead of crossing the Rhine, to proclaim a monarchy at once; he would then have joined Pichegru, and together they would

have marched on Paris. Is it credible still, as Fauche-Borel's version would have us believe, that the Prince de Condé refused to recognize Pichegru's military rank in negotiations of this importance? But this, again, is not more proven than the rest, although the incapacity, or rather the political stupidity, of the Prince de Condé, and that of his equals and relatives, would lead one to believe many similar traits on the part of people accustomed to live, so to speak, with their head in a bag, ignorant of what is going on in the world around them, and remaining true to one fixed idea only—that of the inviolability of their august birth and of the world's respect for the same.

General Willot has made sufficient impression upon the public mind in the South to get himself elected as a deputy. Admitted to the Directorate, he tries to reassure us concerning events in that part of the country; he believes that the number of Frenchmen who have been chosen to take refuge in Italy does not exceed 2000; he pretends that they are by no means victims, but unemployed individuals in search of places. Is it not the manner in which he has persecuted, and caused these unhappy people to be persecuted, that has forced them to expatriate themselves? Willot maintains that there are no real brigands except in Lyons. I reply that wherever assassinations take place there must be brigands. Carnot proposes that the Treasury shall in future pay only such vouchers of the Ministers as have been authorized by the Directorate. No doubt there is in this proposal of Carnot's an idea of watchfulness that is dictated by a sentiment of his own integrity; but here the question turns upon the most ordinary act of administration, and is one most certainly within the province of responsible Ministers. Now, according to the institution, which is explained by its own etymology as plainly as its rights are laid down by the Constitution, the "Directorate" must "direct," and not administrate. In spite of my observations, approved too by my colleagues, Carnot's proposal is adopted.

The Minister of Police reports a fresh series of assassinations

committed in the South. I renew my representations concerning the urgency of taking repressive measures. A longer silence will bring down upon the Directorate greater responsibility. We must without further delay tear the veil from all these hideous crimes, and unmask the protectors of the assassins; we must ask for laws which will supply the deficiencies of the existing codes; the declaration of the Directorate must be outspoken and authoritative, and the tribunals and the authorities must defend the victims and punish the murderers. We can no longer tolerate such patient and phlegmatic conduct in the face of so much carnage. The forbearance of the Government might be construed into complicity. Rewbell and Larevellière, while expressing their horror of the reported crimes, warmly support my proposal. The Minister of Police will act in concert with the Minister of Justice, and they will submit to us the draft of a message. Carnot moves as an amendment that no mention shall be made in the message of either Royalists or fanatics.

Bénézech, the Minister of the Interior, submits a project for celebrating the *fête* of the 14th of July. Shall the Directorate take part in the celebration? Shall the latter take place in the Champ de Mars? Carnot is opposed to both. Rewbell and Larevellière insist that the ceremony shall take place in the Champ de Mars, and that the Directorate shall take part in it. They would like to see the revival of such spectacles as would rekindle feelings of patriotism in the fainting hearts of the people. This is precisely what Carnot dreads most.

Carnot seems to be always in dread of something; he contends that the people are far too aroused already, that they are still much too full of emotion, and that we should try and calm them. Should this calm be the sleep of death when all the enemies of the people are so active? Carnot asks us to take both expense and opinion into consideration. We reply to our colleague that the expenses would not be increased by the presence of the Directorate; and as for opinion, what opinion is it that Carnot wishes to take into consideration? Larevellière strongly opposes Carnot. The proposals of the Minister, supported by Rewbell and Larevellière, are adopted, Carnot and Barthélemy voting against them. The Minister of the Interior, believing that it is better to propitiate the minority just now, sides with Barthélemy and Carnot against his own proposals. He says he has recognized how much better it would be for the

ceremony to take place in the court-yard of the Directorate. This last proposal is finally adopted.

11th Messidor, Year V.—A note from Lord Granville betrays less anxiety for the conclusion of the peace, although it announces the arrival of Malmesbury at Calais on the 12th.

The disturbances at Lyons continue. It is proposed to declare a state of siege in the town. General Canuel is ordered to have the cutthroats arrested. Carnot opposes these measures. He still finds occasion for eulogizing Willot. He wishes to remove the *bureau central* from Lyons, and does not wish the priests to be arrested. A warm discussion follows, giving rise to personalities, but no definite conclusion is arrived at. The representative Delmas, D'Ambrigny, and an adjutant-general denounce some Royalist plots which, they say, are countenanced by Carnot, Barthélemy, Pichegru, and Willot. The conspirators, they say, have agents among the guards of the Directorate. A certain Martin, who has openly announced that three Directors will shortly be put to death, has just been appointed major of the veteran companies ordered off to Luxemburg.

The deputy Villaret-Joyeuse, not having found me at home, wrote me a pressing letter asking for an interview as soon as I should return from the country. On my arrival I found him waiting for me. Addressing me with a very satisfied air, he tells me that he was at Carnot's yesterday, with Dumas and other deputies; that the question of the dismissal of the Ministers of Finance, Marine, Foreign Affairs, and Justice had been discussed; and that there had been unanimity regarding the necessity of such a measure in order to attach good citizens to the Directorate. "We rely on you," he said; "the line of conduct that you have taken up fills all the deputies with a desire to see you and to know you more closely. Dumas and those whom you believe not to be your friends, are really such." I reply to Villaret that all the representatives of the people, whatever be their opinions, have always been received equally well by me; that with regard to the dismissal of the Ministers, there are some now holding office whom the Directorate would find it difficult to replace both for intelligence and pronounced patriotism; and I add that in any case I should follow the dictates of my conscience if that proposal were seriously made.

Siméon, whose *rôle* is well known, follows Villaret, and supports the observations of his colleague, alleging that the Direc-

torate, on taking these measures, would receive general approbation and confidence—especially if the Minister of Finance were replaced by Devaines, the Minister of Foreign Affairs by Hoë, and the Minister of Marine by Redon; I do not remember whose name was recommended by these gentlemen for the Ministry of Justice. My reply to Siméon was the same as I had given Villaret. I then make some rather strong remonstrances regarding the unseemly onslaughts made in the legislative body upon the Government, and also regarding the system that obtains of leaving the latter without finances—that is to say, of stranding the vessel of the State. I acquaint my colleagues of the conversation I have had with the deputies: this provoked a stormy discussion, in which Carnot and Barthélemy were not spared. They were charged with being the primary authors and propagators of the proposal that had just been made me to bring about an overthrow of the Ministry, which overthrow would be nothing less than an actual revolution.

Although on the 13th of Vendémiaire I was in reality, as was very clearly shown on that decisive day, the director of events which were to result in a victory for the Revolution, and although, after the appointment of the Directorate, I was under the necessity of always appearing to fight for what was called anarchy, I still believe myself to have been more fully convinced than any one else of the urgency of establishing a strong organization, capable of restoring order in France. The members of the new Third, who were not exactly in favor of the overthrow, were the first to do me the justice of recognizing this. They expressed themselves to that effect in the interviews that they demanded, and on leaving me they always appeared satisfied with my principles and my line of conduct. They also expressed themselves to that effect in their private correspondence, Siméon, especially, never neglecting to dwell upon his faith in me, even when occasionally writing on private matters. This profession of faith on M. Siméon's part will become more emphatical when he gets into trouble. It is a kind of justice that he renders me—probably less cordially to-day than heretofore—but which I also have the right to render to myself.

Acting upon a feeling of distrust with which Carnot and Barthélemy inspire us, Larevellière and I have arranged to meet at Rewbell's this evening. My two colleagues are fully alive to the danger that threatens the Republic. "There is a desire,"

they say, "to give us Ministers who have already sold themselves to our foes — a desire to smother us, in order that the Republic, whose stanchest defenders we are, may be ruined. Let us three swear to save it. In the face of such imminent danger all means are permissible; and if the Constitution afforded us no means of warding off from the Republic so many premeditated attacks, the majority of the Government, acting in accord with those deputies who have remained loyal and united to the mass of good citizens, would still have to adopt such measures as the grave circumstances of the case demand. . . ."

12th Messidor, Year V.—The plenipotentiaries of the Emperor of Germany have announced that His Majesty would like his own treaty of peace to be settled by a congress which, on account of the invitations to be issued to the respective allies, could not meet for at least six weeks; that a second congress might afterwards meet to settle the affairs of Europe. The Emperor Francis, moreover, has rejected the last agreement come to between his own plenipotentiaries and those of the Republic—an agreement which was proposed by his side, which stipulates for a separate and definite treaty of peace between Germany and the Republic, and in which certain fundamental propositions relating to Italy and the Rhine had already been laid down. The untimely motions passed by the legislative body, and the disturbances in the Interior, may have caused the postponement of this much-desired peace.

Bonaparte sends us the reply which, in unison with Clarke, he made to the various imperial representations. The French plenipotentiaries demand that the first agreement be carried out, and complain of the change that appears to have been made in the Austrian tactics with a view of retarding the conclusion of the peace. A debate ensues; Carnot is inclined to disavow the acts of our plenipotentiaries. The majority of the Directorate is in favor of demanding the execution of the agreement relating to a separate treaty of peace. Carnot comes over to the views of the majority: these are unanimously adopted. An order is sent to Bonaparte to hold himself in readiness to concentrate his troops, though without exercising any hostilities even if the emperor should break off the negotiations; he is, however, to repel any aggression on the part of the enemy. He is at the same time charged to organize one great republic in Italy, provided circumstances and the wish of the people are not opposed to this.

A reply will be sent to Spain that if she consents to give up Louisiana to the French Republic, an indemnity of territory will be given to the Infante, Duke of Parma, in Romagna.

Sandos Rollin, the Prussian Ambassador, assures the Directorate that his sovereign is a sincere friend of the Republic, and that he is disposed to ally himself still more closely with us. The President replies that the French Government have been waiting for some time to see this declaration justified by facts; that it is to the interest of the King of Prussia himself to deal honestly and openly with the Republic.

According to the reports of the Minister of Police, it would appear that the anarchists in Paris are still organizing and planning insurrections. The Minister promises to keep a watchful eye upon them, without losing sight of the cutthroats of Lyons, whom he intends to bring to Paris. General Canuel is authorized to declare Lyons in a state of siege.

Larevellière, Rewbell, and myself meet for the second time to discuss the means of saving the Republic, attacked by the minority both in the legislative body and in the Directorate. No society nor government can exist if the majority cannot guarantee the carrying out of its enactments, and if it has to fear for its own existence. If factious minorities gain the upperhand, there is no doubt that they will surrender the country to foreign foes.

14th Messidor, Year V.—Carnot reads a letter from Vaublanc denouncing the Minister of Marine: he contends that it is impossible to keep him. It is not my wish that Truguet should be dismissed upon the demand of Vaublanc, but only if his administration be absolutely bad. What has cropped up against this Minister, when only a few days ago he was mentioned as the best of the Ministers by two of my colleagues? In the midst of this discussion Truguet is admitted. Carnot reads him Vaublanc's letter. Every one is silent. Truguet, calling at my house afterwards, tells me that Carnot had sent Dupont to him only that morning to assure him of his attachment; that other agents of Carnot's had also given him the same assurance. Villaret at the same time confides to me that in a conference recently held at Carnot's house, at which several representatives were present, it had again been agreed to dismiss several Ministers, especially Truguet. "But," Carnot had said, "we must get Barras to agree to this: it is he who makes up the majority." While recognizing Carnot's faults of character, we have always credited him

with a love for truth. His present underhand behavior, the details of which come to us from several sources, might be construed into duplicity and treachery. This is how passions lead even the most honest men astray. Those things which they would blame most themselves if they could see them, are hidden from their sight by passion. Their conscience becomes more and more accommodating, and they grant themselves absolution, and perhaps that approbation which the Jesuits are accused of bestowing upon themselves so readily.

The Minister of Finance asks for permission to speak not only upon the finances, but upon the position of the Republic and the dangers that threaten it. After a fair *exposé* of all the plots that are being hatched, the Minister exhorts the Government to consider how the counter-revolution that is now imminent may best be warded off. It may be done by a display of true courage, by unmasking the conspirators wherever they may be, by rallying all the Republicans who have not deserted their colors, and who respect the principles and the aim of the Revolution. This speech, listened to with much interest, won the approval of the majority of the Directorate.

15th Messidor, Year V.—During this interval the news-sheets of the Royalist party have thought fit to publish the following paragraph, in which they artfully foreshadow all that might result from my line of conduct, in order to influence the latter:

"We are assured that the Directorate, after having given up a few days to the ill-humor and impatience caused by the appearance of fresh opposition to itself in the legislative body, is beginning to return to the only means of disarming it and of acting in concert with the immense majority of the two Councils: that is, by making those changes in the Ministry which public opinion has long clamored for. To go on obstinately refusing such necessary changes would be to wantonly provoke a struggle, the issue of which would be very doubtful, to say the least. Such behavior would deprive the members who support the

Government of all their moral strength when unjustly attacked; it would weaken their influence day by day, because there are really some among the Ministers the mention of whose names would suffice to disconcert all the apologists in the world. They who would counsel the Directorate to retain the services of men so discredited, and to disregard the wishes of the legislative majority, are but very imperfectly acquainted with the nature of a representative constitution. What obstacles has the Directorate not already encountered during the last month! It cannot hide from itself the fact that it owes their incidence in a great measure to the impotence and the discredit of several of its Ministers. Let it replace them, not by party flunkeys, but by men of recognized talent and merit, of unquestionable devotion to the Revolution, and capable of governing vigorously under the Directorate! The greater part of the opposition and of the difficulties would immediately fall away, and the Republic would stand firmer than ever! The influence, too, of the true and sincere defenders of the Constitution would immediately increase a hundred-fold. There is a rumor that these or similar ideas have already been submitted by Barthélemy to his new colleagues; that they have already made some impression on Barras especially, who appears disposed to loyally support Barthélemy and to justify the hopes that have been entertained of him for some time past. It therefore probably depends upon one voice alone to transform into a peaceful year what might be a stormy one if a fatal division were to take place between the two powers. Can it be that Carnot will refuse to use this voice in the right direction, and thus not only

expose himself to lose the fruits of his important services, but also reverse that wise policy which has gained him such glory in the Directorate and such gratitude and esteem among the public?"

A few days after the appearance of this article, written for the double purpose of entangling me in the wiles of the crafty plotters and of robbing me of the confidence of the Republican party, the deputies Dumas and Villaret again pay me a visit; they tell me with much cordiality that public opinion points to me as the man who ought to form such a majority in the Directorate as would reconcile all parties. Carnot and Barthélemy desire nothing so much as to join with me — the principal measure that would bring that happy result being the dismissal of a few of the Ministers. Some of these are incapable, others set up principles of which honest people are afraid. The legislative body centres all its hopes in me, and unhesitatingly flings away all the prejudices it once harbored. All the deputies pay homage to my loyalty. "A truce to compliments," I say to these gentlemen; "let us come to business." "Well," replies Dumas, "turn out Truguet, Merlin, Ramel, and Charles Lacroix; replace them by men who are approved by the majority of the legislative body, by Le Hoë, Kolker,[1] Davaines, Desmuniers, and Maret. But lose no time about it: a moment's delay may be fatal. Carnot and Barthélemy agree with us. Rewbell is false. Larevellière is influenced by wicked men. You alone can put an end to this state of uncertainty. Rally all honest men round the Government."

[1] These names are also spelled Le Hoc, Hoé, and Kolken in the manuscript.—G. D.

I was impatient to hear the last of these insidious proposals, and of these insinuations against two of my honorable colleagues. I reply to the ambassadors of the legislative body, "I am greatly flattered by your rather tardy attentions, but your loyalty seems to me to savor much of royalty. I desire unity in the Directorate as much as in the Councils, but I cannot believe that men who have been protecting reactionary cutthroats for so long, and who have constantly opposed every repressive measure, can be as sincere in that desire as I am. Six months ago I was unable to approve of certain acts of Truguet's: he was then supported by those who now wish to dismiss him. Larevellière is an honest Republican. It is an honor for me to be his friend. It is possible that under the deceptive cloak of liberty some knaves may seek to gain his confidence, but there is nothing in his way of voting to prove it. Rewbell has the hardest head in the Directorate; his knowledge of administration and legislation is very extensive. These two magistrates often enlighten me and serve as a guide for my actions. By what right do you come here to force the hand of the Government in dismissing certain Ministers, while the worst, the Minister of the Interior, is the one you accept?" "Carnot," says Dumas, "raised the same objection, but it was overridden. It seems undesirable that the Government should longer regard the contumacious *émigrés* as enemies of the Republic. We are about to introduce a bill on the subject which has been drawn up in conjunction with Thibaudeau." The two ambassadors, after repeated protestations of devotion, leave me in the same way as Portalis and Siméon left me the day before yesterday.

Dumas comes back and says to me, "The deputy Bourdon is here: he has come to speak to you about the colonies. I beg you to let him believe what he likes. He has a wicked mind, and if he thought that he was not about to be sent out, he would upset everything."

Bourdon appears; he detains Dumas, and inveighs against him, his friends, and the *émigrés;* he desires to be sent out with Chiappe to pacify the colonies. I give him no positive answer. After a few personalities, the two deputies withdraw together. Dumas returns once more to ask me whether the Directorate will decide to give Sidney Smith his liberty; he is most anxious that I should allow this English officer to be sent back to his country. He assures me that my colleagues will be of my opinion; he has spoken with Carnot about it.

Dumas and Villaret had approached other Directors in the same way as they had approached me. In the sitting held next day I conferred with my colleagues on the matter; all of them had sent the two deputies away without giving them any satisfaction. Carnot is even indignant that they used his name; he disclaims any sympathy with these two representatives who tried to make us believe him capable of indulgence towards an incendiary. I point out to Carnot that the word is too severe, and perhaps not correct. I repeat that Sidney Smith was taken arms in hand; do not the terrible processes of war include the many uses to which fire and the sword may be put? Is there not a great resemblance between surprising a sleeping sentinel in order to cut his throat, and stealing into a har-

bor in order to burn the enemy's ships? And this is what is called war and even glory. Sidney Smith is undoubtedly our prisoner, taken fairly, but he is only a prisoner of war; we are no longer in the days when a decree passed upon a proposal of the Committee of Public Safety forbade our soldiers to make any prisoners, and ordered them to kill all the English. Carnot seems ashamed of this souvenir, and I stopped myself, regretting that I had recalled it to his mind. I am not one of those who reproach people with having been revolutionaries. Who would not have been one in 1793? Who was then free to choose his weapons, in the face of a coalition which had invaded one part of France and urged the other to insurrection? But if a man, having been a member of the committee of government of that famous period, has had more opportunity than another of appreciating how much responsibility such times authorize one to assume, he should in his turn not be unjust in the appreciation of the virtues of others; and as soon as he wishes to charge the latter with such acts as he has so easily forgotten in his own career, I cannot always control either my feelings or my tongue.

CHAPTER XXX

State of the question—Talleyrand—His diplomacy—The abbé Desrenaudes—The abbé Louis—Talleyrand's aide-de-camp—A curious letter—Talleyrand's behavior towards me—A female intermediary—Talleyrand the place-hunter—His portrait and its resemblance—Interview and colloquy—Talleyrand described by Madame de Staël—Her importunities—Result of her activity—She returns—Accouchement of Lacroix—My reply—An unexpected answer—Talleyrand again tries the women—He retires once more—The Jacobins and the *Constitutionnels*—Madame de Staël again—The Ministry or death—Tragi-comic scene.

In the midst of the numerous plots that are being hatched against the Government, it is easy to distinguish as the principal one that which aims at dismissing those Ministers who enjoy our confidence in order to replace them by those who enjoy that of the legislative body, or in other words, by the ringleaders of the latter. That is what the conspirators wish to attain, and why they go about it in such a persuasive manner. It would really be a most decisive victory for them if they could manage to get into the Luxembourg in this way. After having appointed the Ministers of the Directorate, it would be easy for them to soon be the Directorate itself, and to obtain possession of the palladium of the Republic. The Royalists are united and crouching in the Trojan horse; the modern Sinons must find a means of getting it into the city. Rewbell, Larevellière and myself have unearthed the con-

spiracy; we know where the danger lies, and we have made up our minds to hold out to the last.

Occasionally, however, it is possible to seize upon an idea of one's enemies and to turn it to one's own advantage. If there is really anything with which we have to reproach our Ministers, if there are one or two offices that might be more worthily filled, and the present occupants of which might either be desirous of retiring or willing to transfer their services to some post where they would be more useful—well, that is an important question which we can discuss among ourselves at leisure. We shall certainly not allow ourselves to be influenced by the interested representations of a few deputies calling themselves the legislative body; but we will not refuse to afford the legislative body itself some satisfaction that may testify both to our desire to be in perfect understanding with it, and to the need we feel for the existence of such bonds of union between the great powers of the State as shall enjoy the confidence of all parties.

No sooner had the possibility of a change in the Ministry presented itself to the public than every upstart ambition was awakened. M. de Talleyrand has been on the lookout since his return from America. He knows what slippery things opportunities are, and that once lost they seldom recur. He crept into the Academy to have some excuse for showing himself and for speaking; he founded the *Cercle constitutionnel* in order that he might not only speak himself, but cause others to speak and act. He was surrounded by a small band of true patriots who were devoted to him, and whose very honesty, so prone to credulity, gladly recognized in

the former Bishop of Autun what he wished them to believe him—that is, a great friend of the Revolution.

While thus pandering to the position and leanings of each party in this club, he told the *Constitutionnels* that he, the Bishop of Autun, the friend of Mirabeau, would always be at their head; he told the Girondists that he had been a Girondist; the Dantonists that he was still one of them, and that he had owed his life to Danton during the riots of the 10th of August; the partisans of Robespierre he assured not less positively, but perhaps a little less loudly, that there had been much that was good and excellent in that great man; that he was, after all, the man whom he esteemed, and whom every one should esteem, most in the Revolution.

Among those persons whose services Talleyrand frequently employed for his private affairs there has been seen for some time past a certain abbé Desrenaudes, his former vicar-general, who, with the abbé Louis (afterwards Minister of Finances), assisted him in celebrating mass at the federation of the 14th of July, 1790. This abbé Desrenaudes was an excellent *cornac* who lacked nothing but an elephant; he was already a kind of political cripple, enjoying very little consideration in many respects, and since he was scarcely capable of attending to Talleyrand's domestic matters, it may be imagined how little influence he was able to exercise upon those which referred to politics. Talleyrand required more active aides-de-camp, and he made a good choice when he called Benjamin Constant to his side. This young writer, whose profound natural wit had probably developed in him the great faculty of readily

grasping many things, was not yet in possession of that experience, the deficiency in which nothing can supply. He believed in the truth of words, in the reality of sentiments, in the chivalry of opinions, and up to a certain point even in the union of interests, which may still form a bond between men for whom money is the means and not the aim of life! Benjamin Constant possessed all the candor, I might say the simplicity, of young thinkers. It is possible that his friendship for Talleyrand may, unknown to himself, have been based upon some such innocent mental calculations as the following: "If Talleyrand is made Minister of Foreign Affairs I shall have the right to be taken in tow by his vessel." It is at least quite certain that if Benjamin Constant did not say that to himself, he had often heard that declaration expressly and repeatedly put forth by none other than Talleyrand. In the possible accession of Talleyrand to office, Madame de Staël had foreseen a double and excellent bargain: her old friend a Secretary of State — Benjamin Constant, her present friend, an Under-Secretary! In her eyes this was all that was required to save the Republic; for such is the illusion of the passions, that when occupying ourselves most with some private interest, we often imagine that we are working only in the interest of the public. Madame de Staël had at first lent Benjamin Constant to Talleyrand. Now she completed the sacrifice and handed him over as a gift. Benjamin Constant regarded this transfer of himself to Talleyrand in the coolest manner possible. He kept his eyes only upon his master, and had spoken to me about him in the highest terms at the time when the plenipotentiaries were

being nominated at Lille. Talleyrand had failed, but he did not consider himself beaten, and early every morning at six o'clock he was at Benjamin Constant's bedside dragging him up and spurring him on to set about their business. At the moment when rumors of a change of Ministry are being bruited about, I receive the following letter from two friends whom I could not possibly fail to recognize: "My devotion to you is unchangeable, and it alone has made me conceive the idea of becoming useful to you.

"I am associated with a man whom you already know, and who fully shares my feelings. He is a man of solid genius, bold but prudent; we are both absolutely determined to follow your fortunes.

"We ask for neither places nor money; it is from the real utility of our services that we expect the effects of your generosity.

"Two men lacking neither intelligence nor means are willing to devote themselves to you through every vicissitude of fortune if you will only put them on the proof."

Talleyrand, it may be seen, always proceeded by way of attachment and devotion to those from whom he expected anything. To how many people has he not been attached whenever he has had need of them, this man whom to-day we recognize as never having been attached to any one but himself?

Talleyrand, after having enlisted into his service every functionary and patriot who might be supposed to have the slightest influence with me, approached even the meanest of those in my employ in order that the oft-reiterated expressions of his

devotion and adoration should reach me by every possible means. I was getting heartily tired of all this repetition, when, after having induced the men to do all that he could reasonably expect, Talleyrand thought it time to set the women going. (This is Talleyrand's own expression, which he has been heard to repeat in the most dissimilar and widely divergent circumstances. For example, when recently attacked by Rovigo on the question of the Duc d'Enghien's assassination, he was up and about at a very early hour trying to win the Court over to his side, and for that purpose soon set the women of the Faubourg St. Germain going.) The first to advance of the troop of Talleyrand's women was one who had already acquired a celebrity for many extraordinary things, to say nothing of her writings, which certainly are and always will be celebrated. Madame de Staël, who had already approached me more than once during the time that the National Convention was sitting, from the 9th of Thermidor to the 13th of Vendémiaire, had come to the Directorate at the earliest possible opportunity. At first she seemed to be taken up only with general interests and in paraphrasing her enthusiasm for liberty, but after a very few days she was busy making appeals for her father's name to be struck off the list of *émigrés*. There was no doubt that many men friendly to the Government had been absurdly placed on the list, and the demand made by M. Necker's daughter could be defended on the perfectly legitimate grounds of pious and filial devotion. But now Madame de Staël was ambitious to create a Minister, and according to what was said concerning the kind of

interest she bore her candidate *in petto*, this desire was not prompted by a due respect for her conjugal relations. Madame de Staël, then, was sent to me by Talleyrand, and I must confess that he had chosen a very active messenger, who might perhaps have been prettier and less enthusiastic. I know of course that women are capable of going to great lengths in matters in which their heart is engaged, but I was not aware to what extremes they really will go.

Madame de Staël had often spoken to me of Talleyrand, the ex-Bishop of Autun, lately returned from America, who was badly in want of a post of some kind or other, both in order that he might live, and more especially that he might have "the honor of serving the Republic and of showing his love of liberty." She had then proceeded to ask leave to introduce her *protégé*. I had politely refused her request by replying that such a step was unnecessary, and that I should feel more sure of my independence if not brought under the direct influence of the applicant, having already been sufficiently subjected to hers; that he might rely upon my doing something to assist him. Even before seeing him, some secret presentiment warned me to beware of this rover, and made me hesitate to accord him permission to set his crippled foot inside the Luxembourg. Madame de Staël, however, begged so persistently that I consented to Talleyrand being introduced. His patroness, losing no time, cries: "Well, will nine o'clock this evening suit you?" "This evening be it, if it pleases you."

Neither of them failed. They were announced, and came in together. Madame de Staël, accus-

tomed to play the page of honor to those whom she introduced, was slightly in advance. Talleyrand came hobbling after her. I had never seen this individual who had already made himself famous under two reigns, and who was still to be so under many others. In speaking of my interview with Robespierre, before the 9th of Thermidor, I mentioned what a striking living portrait of that terrible personage had at a later period presented itself to me, and one which in its place I should submit to those who took a pleasure in collecting historical physiognomies. This is the right time for making my observation, which has been confirmed by a searching examination, and recorded with the most religious fidelity. Upon seeing Talleyrand enter, with his cadaverous and expressionless face, his eyes fixed and inanimate, I thought there stood before me Robespierre himself. I was still more struck on examining him more closely: the same protruding bones, the same short head, the same tip-tilted nose, the same hard wicked mouth; add to all these natural features the same artificial accompaniments, the same powdered hair, the same stiff unbending carriage.

I was so dumfounded by this astonishing resemblance, which extended from the head down to the very legs, that I could not refrain from imparting my thoughts to Madame de Staël. She laughed at the comparison without denying its truth, and said to me: "Oh! I assure you that the resemblance is not complete." She, however, began to look at her man more attentively, telling me that Robespierre's image was well impressed upon her mind—his powdered hair too, and his harsh haughty man-

ner. "Yes, there is undoubtedly a false resemblance of Robespierre, and a very strong one. But I assure you that though physically there may be an unfortunate likeness, there is none morally, and Talleyrand is a vastly better man than the other. M. Robespierre, for instance, was entirely devoid of any feeling of either friendship or gratitude; there is no better nor more faithful friend than Talleyrand. I will prove it to you: he is a man who carries his heart on his sleeve, and who is entirely devoted to you; for you he would go through fire itself."

Seeing that Talleyrand was listening to all this very gravely, I turned towards him, not wishing to leave him in his embarrassment any longer. Madame de Staël moved forward, and taking him by the hand brought him to me, saying, "We were speaking of you, citizen Talleyrand; I knew that I was not flattering you in protesting that you were an excellent friend and a being filled with delicate sentiments; that gratitude was no stranger to your heart."

Talleyrand, drawing back a little in order to give more effect to his obeisance, made a deep bow and repeated only these words: "Your respectful servant, your grateful servant—who lives only for friendship and devotion—who will be too happy—who will be deeply grateful—and not less respectful—whose respect and gratitude can only be equalled by his admiration. . . ." That is the whole of the painful speech that seemed to make its way from the innermost depths of this personage who enjoys such a prodigious reputation for wit and elocution, for a sparkling and abundant flow of words sufficient

to entertain a whole assembly. It is true that this reputation might be of his own building up, and that in making a name as well as in making a fortune, there is nothing like doing all the work one's self. It has been shown that in all these matters, too, the resemblance between Talleyrand and Robespierre was very striking, and that neither of these worthies of the Revolution possessed any quality that was lacking in the other. Such was my first interview with Talleyrand. Madame de Staël, after having proffered these few words, and hoping no doubt to have sown in my heart all kinds of excellent ideas which would have been good fruits for Talleyrand, took the latter by the hand to lead him away. Talleyrand, while still talking about his respect and his eternal gratitude, told me he knew that I went to bed early; that he also knew that I was the first to rise in the whole Republic; that he did not wish to encroach on my rest; that the country had need of me, and that it was wrong to keep me from it for a single moment. Madame de Staël, on leaving me, whispered: "I have told you nothing yet about citizen Talleyrand: I might have shocked his modesty. I can only speak to you in his absence. I shall come back to-morrow alone, and will ask you for a private interview."

Madame de Staël returns on the morrow, and scarcely has she entered and taken a seat when she at once starts upon her subject; she feels the necessity of strengthening me in all my intentions by acquainting me with the whole truth. I must be fully informed respecting those persons recommended to my protection who are likely to be employed by the Government, and it is only with a

view to my personal interest and to that of the public that she finds herself compelled to continue the conversation commenced on the previous evening. Madame de Staël then conjured up a series of scenes which were for me a demonstration of what was possible in the excesses of ambition. At first she spoke of Talleyrand as a man filled with enthusiasm for liberty, for the Republic, and even for the Revolution; as a priest he had never been fully convinced of the truth of his teachings, she told me; he did not even believe in God, though of this she by no means approved. She could indeed scarcely pardon him for his unbelief, but since we must be tolerant, she excused it. While he was agent-general of the clergy before the Revolution, he had always mystified all those about him by an air of gravity which he assumed as befitting the episcopal dignity. When, however, he had divested himself of this dignity and cast aside its insignia, he had at the same time thrown off all the old prejudices. Before unfrocking himself as he had since done, he had been the first to consecrate the constitutional bishops, in order to complete the overthrow of the Catholic religion. As a member of the Constituent Assembly, he had helped to pass all the laws that tended to complete the disorganization of the Church, and he had succeeded in his object. "While we are on the subject of this Catholic Church, concerning which my opinions, being those of a Protestant, are perhaps somewhat partial, I may tell you that one day when its defenders were good enough to confess in my presence that 'it indeed contained abuses,' I quickly replied, 'It is not in the Catholic clergy alone that we find abuses! The whole clergy is in

itself an abuse.' This *mot*, like many of those I occasionally make in company, was happy enough, but it was only a *mot*. Talleyrand appropriated it admirably by repeating it as his own, which in fact it soon became." I know that to many of the matters for which he has received credit, simply because he first took credit for them himself, he has been unable to bring more than the ordinary ability of an aristocrat as educated in France, that is to say, no thorough knowledge, little literature, and a mind of extreme mediocrity; but he always associated with those who were cleverer than himself, and rubbed himself against them. He had managed to make his way into Mirabeau's private circle, and even to become one of his testamentary executors, not because there was any great similarity between the two men, one of whom was of fire and the other of ice, but because Mirabeau had found Talleyrand so obsequious that he was loath to refuse his services, and had therefore consented to allow him to blow the organ. The willing assumption of such a *rôle* by Talleyrand was a guarantee of what he would do at the side of a Director as great as myself. Madame de Staël assured me that I deserved this epithet, not only for my courage and strength of mind, but also for my clear sound judgment and my military knowledge.

I knew just how much of all that to believe. Never having entertained any false ideas concerning the existence and extent of my capabilities, I knew well enough that I was not devoid of either courage or strength of mind, and that I possessed some judgment and a slight knowledge of men and worldly matters. I could therefore see quite well through

Madame de Staël's flattery, and guess her aim. I did not say to her, "You are flattering me, you are lying, but go on," for she went on without my order or permission.

After having unfolded all the reasons for employing Talleyrand in the Republican Government, Madame de Staël was especially desirous that he should be attached to my person; she declared that "he was enthusiastic about me." Sentiment, which works so many miracles, might do much for Talleyrand; now, since Talleyrand, according to Madame de Staël, idolized me, this exalted sentiment of love for a chief of the Republic might, she told me, be of especial assistance to his naturally limited faculties, and enable him to render the greatest services to the Republic. And this possibility, continued Madame de Staël with ever-increasing ardor, was heightened by the fact that he possessed a wonderful knowledge of all that had taken place during the earlier part of the Revolution, that his memory was stored with the secrets of all the most notable personages of either sex. Louis XV. was able to remember the names and faces of the six thousand hounds that filled his kennels; Talleyrand has a similar "dog" memory. He has, moreover, had much good practice himself in many difficult situations, in none of which has he ever been found wanting; he has passed from one position to another with remarkable ease. . . . He possesses a most happy flexibility, a most agile capacity for transition; he is all things to all men. "He has," says Madame de Staël, in a burst of real enthusiasm, "*he has all the vices of the old and of the new régime; he has, and always will have, a finger in more pies than one;*

you cannot therefore find a more useful agent. With regard to yourself, citizen Director," she repeated, "he has always entertained for you such affection, esteem, and respect as make him consider you something 'superhuman'; it is you personally whom he wishes to serve, and I have no hesitation in expressing his sentiments since I share them myself. Who is there that is better and greater than you? You are a masterly politician, without making any pretension to the name; you are a great soldier, for you have proved yourself so at Toulon and in Paris, in battles more terrible than any fought on the frontiers, and in which even Turenne and Condé would have shown the white feather. You have been a mighty orator at decisive moments; you are, moreover, a true statesman, and above all you are a simple and modest man, who makes no boast of what is most your own! Barras, you are not only great, but beautiful; you are like the Apollo Belvedere, from the crown of your head to the sole of your foot. . . ." "Would you mind leaving it at that?" I said, for I was really unable to see where she would stop. "What is it you are aiming at?" I asked at last, tired out by her persistence. "Explain yourself: what is it you want us to make of this dear Talleyrand?" "Firstly," she replied, "a Minister—a Minister of Foreign Affairs at the least, after what I have told you of his ability and fitness for such a post." "Well," I replied, in order to get rid of her, "I will think it over at the first opportunity." And Madame de Staël, though very unwilling to do so, relieved me of her presence.

I did indeed speak to my colleagues of the expediency of giving Talleyrand a post, if only out of

opposition to the supporters of the old *régime*, by whom he was most hated and despised.

I must do my colleagues the justice of saying that they were unanimous in their feeling of repulsion and horror. Madame de Staël was to come and see me in two days. I had given her permission to do this, and even had I not done so, she would have found her way to me just the same, for there are no doors closed against her under any pretext, and she can always manage to force them, if I may say so, in order to attain her object. She therefore returns two days after, and greets me with the assurance of one whose business has been settled. I still see her great eyes fixed upon me with a look of almost voluptuous tenderness, not entirely devoid of something imperious. "Well," she said to me, "we have no doubt a Minister, for M. de Lacroix is no longer one; he is an old woman still *enceinte*, though he pretends to have been recently delivered." (Madame de Staël alluded to a painful operation that the Minister Lacroix had just undergone for an immense wen that gave him the appearance of a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy.) I scarcely knew how to evade this direct question, the reply to which Madame de Staël awaited with an impatience that showed itself in the anxious and expectant look fixed upon me. She was close beside me, before the fireplace, and there was no means of breaking away, as in fencing. I determined to save myself by a simple declaration of the truth. "We are very far from having a Minister of your making; the man you proposed to me is repugnant to every member of the Directorate, who are almost unanimous in their bad opinion of him.

My single voice is not sufficient to get him appointed; everybody is against him."

I believed that Madame de Staël would feel as utterly defeated as I had done, and I imagined that I was rid of her importunities; who, indeed, would have expected her to draw the fresh conclusions she did out of all this? "Your colleagues say that they despise Talleyrand," she replies. "Well, be it so; let them hate him as well; so much the better for you, Barras, for I myself see no other than you in the world. It is precisely because Talleyrand will be at enmity with all your colleagues that he will be most useful to you. Entirely dependent upon your good-will, he will be obliged to look more towards you, since you might say to him, as Augustus did to Cinna:

> "'Et pour te faire choir, je n'aurais aujourd'hui
> Qu' à retirer la main qui seule est ton appui.'

This sentiment alone will suffice to make him watch his enemies unceasingly, and you will have the best information concerning all their secret movements, and even their intentions with regard to yourself. Talleyrand will mount guard for you like a good shepherd's dog; he is, in fact, the most faithful dog you could have. He loves you with that submissive love men lavish upon a mistress of whom they are jealous, without daring to thwart her." I saw nothing in all these words of Madame de Staël that would encourage me to put my trust in a man whose chief recommendation was his corruption, his inconstancy, and his continual acts of treason. I begged Madame de Staël to leave me in peace for a while, telling her it was impossible to do anything just

then for the advancement of Talleyrand in politics.

Talleyrand, after having received this check through Madame de Staël, does not consider himself beaten yet. He had said, "The women must be set going"; and on seeing that Madame de Staël had been obliged to withdraw from the Directorate with so little success, he thought he might be less unfortunate in applying to several female relatives of mine whom he knew to be on intimate terms with me. Mesdames de M—— and Madame de J—— were together and successively the object of his attacks—that is to say, of his most flattering and insinuating compliments. Speaking to Madame de J—— one day, he said: "You are not only a relative of Barras, you are necessarily his friend, and I feel it my duty to take advantage of that bond to let him know the truth through you. It is painful to me to see that all who approach him do so only for the sake of his power and fortune, by which they all wish to profit. I observe with regret that it is not he whom they love, as they should, for his great and good qualities, for his bravery, his generosity, and his noble character—in fact, for all that distinguishes him as a superior man. I, for my part, love him for himself, and it is such people as I am that he wants about him. If you are really his friend, you ought to tell him the danger of his position, and show him the means of remedying it. If you understand me thoroughly, tell Barras that I am at his service, that I am devoted to him for life and death, and that he will find no creature on earth who will belong to him more thoroughly than myself. I speak to you, *citoyenne*, from the bottom of

my heart. In acquainting Barras of my feelings, you will be discharging the duty both of a loving relative and of a good Republican."

"You are not going too far," replied Madame de J——, "in calling me a loving relative; the love for one's kindred ranks among the first human feelings, and is the sweetest of duties. As for what you are kind enough to add concerning my Republicanism, that may be a compliment, and I am not sure that I am quite worthy of it. Besides, my cousin the Director is wise enough to be very tolerant; he does not demand that every one shall be an exact model of himself. He has his own particular line of action, and we never talk politics."

After this first repulse, Talleyrand thought that he might be more successful in applying to Mesdames de M——, my cousins. It was the same formula: "Barras is surrounded by people who care only for his power and his fortune; he wants by his side, at the Directorate, some one who loves him for himself, for his great and heroic virtues; he can find no man who will do that more thoroughly than I. It is impossible to tell you how much I love him! I worship him; I think him really as beautiful as he is good; in my eyes he is like Mars himself. . . ." He was continuing his nauseous compliments when my cousins burst into laughter, and, like Madame de J——, said to him: "We never talk politics with our cousin, and since all that you have just said comes under that head, we cannot undertake to deliver the message." Still laughing, they left Talleyrand, and when they confided the story to me on the morrow, they were forced to laugh again.

While Talleyrand was employing Madame de Staël

so actively, and when he would have liked to employ all the ladies who, visiting the Directorate, appeared to him to be most in touch with my views, he did not neglect to make use of ladies of another color and kind. Having a finger in the pies of both parties, and more than one string to his bow, he sought out Madame la Duchesse de Brancas, also a relative of mine, and one who was looked upon as an aristocrat of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. With an ardor equal to that of Madame de Staël, she came to persuade me to make a Minister of Talleyrand. Though I am unable to call to mind the specific reasons put forth by this lady, I believe that she threw the weight of her influence into the movement that had been set going around me from all sides, in order to induce me to undertake the defence of Talleyrand, and to constitute myself his ministerial godfather. How many circumstances were here united pointing to the presence of a powerful combination! But I looked down upon it all with that kind of light disdain that cannot persuade itself that a plot treated in that fashion continues to make for its object with renewed obstinacy. I was deceived. Talleyrand, perceiving that it was necessary to change his tactics, and that the help of the ladies was not sufficient, once more set to work to find new and more powerful resources.

The party that we called *clichien* was by no means content to slacken its machinations. The terror with which it inspired the Republic led the defenders of the latter to unite in several parts of France for the purpose of resistance. Talleyrand, while regretting that the clubs were too antiquated a means of agitation, was fain to recognize that, failing legally con-

stituted bodies, they were the most powerful lever at his disposal for moving the authorities, who could not remain insensible and inactive in the midst of the new atmosphere that was being created around them. "It is only the Jacobins," Talleyrand gravely told his friends, "who can save France and give the Directorate the strength necessary to save itself." This name of Jacobins, although pronounced by lips as indiscreet as those of Talleyrand, was not one by which public opinion, alarmed by recollections of '93, was likely to be much conciliated. "I am aware of that," replied the astute Talleyrand, as soon as this objection was raised; "but in my opinion the Jacobins are the defenders of the Constitution, pure and simple. Well, then, we will no longer call them Jacobins, if the name is out of fashion: let us call them only *Constitutionnels*, since the club in which they all assemble is called the *Cercle Constitutionnel*." Thus was the combination which has just been mentioned indeed intended to influence the Directorate by artfully palming off the opinions of a very small section of society as the wishes of the public, and so wring from the authorities that deference which they cannot refuse to demands presented in the collective name of a body of citizens. In this respect Talleyrand and his patriotic club were not backward in lavishing attentions upon me. I had not seen Talleyrand since he had been presented to me by Madame de Staël. After the check I had received when speaking of him to my colleagues he had the tact to recognize that he could not again approach me without some new plan, or at least some fresh pretext. Madame de Staël had indeed spoken of his devotion in glowing terms, but had presupposed for

him a position that he had not attained. Talleyrand thought it necessary to produce some actual resources in support of this devotion. The *Cercle Constitutionnel*, newly created, presented him with an opportunity of doing so. Bringing with him Benjamin Constant and some others calling themselves the founders of the *Cercle Constitutionnel*, he therefore came to do me the honor of placing this new power at my disposal, at my orders, and, according to his own expression, "even at my feet," to use it as I would. Talleyrand and Benjamin Constant, determined, as they said they were, to work hand-in-hand together, having now confided to me the political secret, I could not be entirely duped by the ghost of their strength when they wished to impose the illusion upon me and persuade themselves that they were speaking in the name of an important power; even I, in my turn, might have been afraid of these people, if, as in the fable, I had not recognized the real personages under their disguise. It will, however, be seen later that those very deceptions against which we are most on our guard are not always impotent, and that they often end by conquering us, even when we have promised ourselves to escape them.

In spite of all that Madame de Staël had done for Talleyrand, it appears that he did not think this enough, and that his motto was that of Cæsar, "Believing to have done nothing as long as anything remained to be done." He had not found enough intrepidity in his intrepid friend, and he was continually urging her to return to the charge. Madame de Staël comes to me again on the morrow in a state of terrible perturbation, her dress in greater disorder than ever, her hair dishevelled, and a wild

look in her eyes—this giving her the appearance of having just recovered from an attack of hysteria or being on the point of having one. On entering, she throws herself into an arm-chair and, seizing my hands, draws me violently towards and almost upon her, ejaculating in breathless accents: "Barras, *mon ami*, you are the only man in the world upon whom I rely; without you we are lost—entirely lost. Do you know? Oh no! you do not know, or you would not let me remain in such a state of despair. Do you know," she continues, choking with sobs, "do you know what *he* said, what *he* told me only just now?" "Who? What are you talking about, Madame?" "Barras, *mon ami*," she repeats, clasping my hands still more tightly and rolling her eyes as if she were in an epileptic fit. "*Mon Dieu!* I am talking of our poor Talleyrand. Do you know what has happened to him?" "Well, what, Madame?" "I have just left him; perhaps he is no longer alive. He told me that he was going to throw himself into the Seine if you do not appoint him Minister of Foreign Affairs. He has nothing in the world but ten louis." "Has he no other resources? no friends?" "Friends, indeed! I, who certainly am a friend of his, have gladly supported him until now; his expenses have been very small, and he has not even hired a carriage since his return. He goes about all his business in a cab, he who was accustomed to live in such luxury in the olden days; he has not even a house, always staying with me or with some one else. To be penniless, to have no lucrative profession, and to have, moreover, a heap of debts, is a very cruel situation for a man to be in, and we must get him out of it! My dear

Barras, we are lost; Talleyrand will drown himself, he will die if you do not make him a Minister. If you have definitely disposed of the foreign portfolio elsewhere, give him any other and he will do equally well with it. His talents are of most accommodating versatility; he is at home in anything, and is besides an excellent patriot, as I have already told you; in politics he is a most decided man. He would like to have been a member of the National Convention; his energy would have been well appreciated there. He recognizes no excess where liberty is concerned, and regrets that he was not in that assembly to vote with you. Did he not also take up a very decided attitude at the time of the 10th of August? Was it not he who managed everything at the French Embassy in London, although Chauvelin was then nominally in charge? Was it not Talleyrand who drew up the address to the Powers concerning the events of the 10th of August, in order to demonstrate the right of the nation and the legitimacy of the Republic in the overthrow of the monarchy and the measures taken with regard to Louis XVI.? I do not say that I was or that I am now of his opinion in that matter. Talleyrand digs deeper than I do in politics; but in any case, if his position as a former bishop debarred him from becoming a member of the National Convention, we must at least credit him with the opinions which he would have expressed there. He has done his best for the Revolution; no one has given greater proofs of zeal. In reply to the question, 'What have you done to be hanged?' no one can answer more satisfactorily than he, 'I have done everything.'

And now, *mon cher ami*, now, my dear Barras, will you allow such an interesting man as this to throw himself into the Seine because he cannot serve his country? No, *mon ami*, you will not suffer this; you must speak energetically to your colleagues, you must ride the high horse; you must show your teeth, you must show of what stuff you are made. You must make a Minister of Talleyrand, or I shall be in despair and kill myself, for I can do no more."

All this was spoken by Madame de Staël in the midst of an attack of real convulsions, her almost foaming mouth betokening the approach of graver symptoms. I was a prey to two very different sensations; the one was a mixture of compassion and terror at seeing a woman in such a state of distress in my house, where she might be found by any one without my being able to explain her unfortunate condition satisfactorily. Who would ever believe that such a state could result from such a cause? On the other hand, I felt a wild desire to burst into laughter, that was only restrained by the terror I was in. A woman going off into an epileptic fit in my house because I cannot make a Minister of one of her friends! This friend, too, *an abbé*, a ruined ex-bishop threatening to drown himself if he is not appointed a Minister of the Republic, and agent of a Directorate composed of five regicides! In this melodrama there was a deal of the serious and the sinister mixed up with the ludicrous, all the details of which I can scarcely recall even today without giving way to mirth; but this mirth will have a bitter ring about it if, while bearing in mind what has gone before, we consider what followed.

The volubility and impetuosity with which Madame de Staël had spoken had made it impossible for me to interpose a single word. . . . Seizing the moment when, broken with fatigue, she was compelled to pause, I replied, "Madame, I am in despair, and beg you to forgive me for not having been more successful in this matter." At this Madame de Staël appeared more composed, and was now shedding, as she declared, only the sweet tears of hope. "Come, *mon ami*," she went on, still clasping my hands, "do this for me, and you will save us all. I am giving you and the Republic a valuable friend in the person of this poor Talleyrand—I will be answerable for him till death." Madame de Staël would not leave off. I had risen to make her do the same, and to get rid of her by saying good-bye, but once on her feet, she still held both my hands, so that it was impossible for me to ring the bell for the servants. There were a good many people in my ante-chamber, some of whom had been waiting two hours for an audience. What would all these people say on seeing such an agitated woman pass out, with her dress too in a state of disorder that her attack had only made worse? I fully believe that if I had made Talleyrand's appointment subject to a certain personal and sentimental condition, Madame de Staël, who offered me what she called her life and everything else in the world, would not have been deaf to my prayers. But I swear that such an idea never entered my head, and that my *rôle* in that case would rather have been a defensive than an aggressive one; and finally that those who saw Madame de Staël leave in such a state of distress, and perchance drew any conclusions from her emotion,

were entirely mistaken and have grossly calumniated me. Never, in a matter of this kind, have I come out of a similar temptation more innocent or more pure. . . .

In spite of the appearance of truly extraordinary affectation that stamped Madame de Staël's conduct —conduct which might be regarded as the acting of a well-rehearsed *rôle* in a comedy in order to hasten me to redeem my promises towards the man she called my *protégé*, I am convinced that Madame de Staël might not herself have been aware of the whole secret of her emotion; I believe that she was a guiltless accomplice, and certainly a dupe unknown to herself. This is often the case, to a certain extent, with passionate actors who identify themselves with their parts and almost become the personages they represent. They assume the buskin, the toga, or the turban, and in the heat of acting persuade themselves that they are indeed those they pretend to be, entering into their *rôles* so thoroughly and becoming so excited, that they are completely carried away. Was it not during a representation of Mahomet that Le Kain, who had never been known to act so well before, broke a blood-vessel in his chest and died?

But if Madame de Staël was of a highly sensitive nature, and obliged to suffer accordingly, there was some one who shared that sensitiveness in a much lesser degree than I did. It was the man who had excited it. While she was occupied in my room in weeping, in stamping, and in clasping me to her with all her might, I know that Talleyrand was waiting for her in the carriage which she had left at my door. As she was taking leave of me, she said, "I am going to see him: what shall I tell him to reassure him?

Could we ever forgive ourselves for having been the cause of his death?" "Come, Madame," I replied once more, "be good enough to believe that I can neither forget nor neglect all that you have just told me. Persuade your friend not to drown himself, for if he did it would no longer be possible to make anything of him. We will try to utilize his talents for the Republic, and his good-will for ourselves."

CHAPTER XXXI

The commissary Ricard — General Frégeville — M. Cabarrus — A feminine intrigue—San Domingo affairs—Toussaint-Louverture —Proposal to give General Menou a command —Villaret-Joyeuse—Madame de Staël and Henri Larivière—The Salin Club—Gibert des Molières—An evening meeting—Plan to indict two Directors and to arrest me — Willot's proposal respecting the *gendarmerie* — A report from Bonaparte — Reply of the Directorate—It seeks to tranquillize the public—Carnot's policy—The Island of Elba—A nocturnal movement—M. de Lévis—Truguet's warning—Despatches from the plenipotentiaries at Lille—Negotiations with England — Pérignon still at Madrid — The Directorate refuses M. Cabarrus—Portuguese affairs—Conference with Rewbell and Larevellière — François de Neufchâteau — Lenoir-Laroche and Hoche—Plan of a new Ministry—The Clichy Club —Valuable information given by the Prince de Carency—Carnot's proposal respecting the dismissal of the four Ministers—Their inopportune arrival—Result of the discussion—Change of Ministry — The majority and the minority — Accommodating resignations—Talleyrand's trickery—Simplicity of Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant — Talleyrand Minister — Grave error of the Directorate—Homage to Admiral Truguet—How Talleyrand receives his appointment — "An immense fortune" —Effusion of gratitude — He almost kisses my servants — The Directorate rids itself of details—Bureaucratic dissolution—Sadness of Carnot — Charles Lacroix negotiates with Portugal—Agitation in the Councils—Fatal position of the Directorate.

16th Messidor, Year V.—The Commissary of Saint-Maximin (this town has reassumed its former name, which Lucien Bonaparte had changed to that of Marathon), the worthy Ricard, sends us a sad picture of the numerous massacres that are taking place in the South. The ruin of this part of the country is due to Willot, a corrupt, immoral, and unpatriotic man—the last per-

son in the world to be intrusted with such a delicate military command. General Frégeville reports the same excesses from Montpellier. The commissary attached to the central administration of the Hérault also informs us of murderous outrages committed upon purchasers of national lands. Carnot discredits both Frégeville and the commissary; I support them. Larevellière and Rewbell are of my opinion, and yet no decisive measures are adopted.

We are informed that M. Cabarrus is appointed Minister plenipotentiary for Spain in Paris. Our correspondence from Madrid tells us that this appointment is due to an intrigue. Pérignon, our ambassador, used his influence to bring it about on being assured that the Directorate would be pleased to see Madame Tallien's father as the representative of Spain in Paris. The appointment has not met with much approval in Madrid, and it cannot be welcomed by the Directorate in France.

Letters from San Domingo tell us that the northern part of the island is almost entirely evacuated by the enemy, and that Toussaint-Louverture is marching on Port-au-Prince.

19th Messidor, Year V. — The Minister of War proposes to appoint General Menou inspector of the 17th division of the Interior. Is this a proposal to put the 14th of Vendémiaire on its trial? What are they aiming at? Shall we sit down quietly in this room until it is surrounded by our enemies? If the Directorate persists in taking no measures to save the Republic, I am determined to resume my place in the ranks of the simple citizens; I will join them in taking up arms in the defence of liberty. The proposal is not taken up; it was supported only by Carnot, and that for not more than a moment.

Carnot wishes to promote Villaret-Joyeuse to the rank of *chef de bataillon d'artillerie.* I have served with this officer and know him to be a clever soldier, but he is sent here by the Ile of France, and in the face of the behavior of that colony, still in a state of insurrection, it would be unseemly to accord its delegate any favors. When it has recognized the Republican Government, I will vote for the rank of *chef de bataillon* to be bestowed upon Villaret-Joyeuse. Agreed.

Madame de Staël comes to see me in the evening, her manner more sprightly and engaging than ever; she makes many protestations of attachment

to the Directorate, and particularly to me. We are, she assures me, the only Republican authority that inspires her with any confidence. Henri Larivière had told her that the Salin Club was sold to the Government. She had stoutly denied this, and spoken in favor of the members of whom the club consisted; she blames Gibert des Molières. . . M. Necker, her father, who is an authority on finance, says that the financier Gibert is doing irreparable harm to France by his discussions. . . . But the matters of which she speaks are not those that bring her to me; her one idea is still Talleyrand. "Ah! when you have got Ministers like him!" I immediately perceive that I am about to be treated to a fresh homily. I am overwhelmed with business, and this furnishes me with an excuse for escaping from the terrible insistence of this indefatigable orator. I reply, "The question concerning your friend is exhausted; I know it by heart. Adieu, Madame!"

At our evening sitting Rewbell tells us that he has received information of my speedy arrest, and also of a design to bring a charge against him and Larevellière. Talleyrand, Bergoing, and Benjamin Constant consider this an opportune moment for renewing their protestations of devotion to me. They imagine that they have great influence with the patriots, and assure me that instead of the distrust that I am led to believe exists among the latter, I may rely on their entire confidence in me. Replying to the honorable ambassadors of the *Cercle Constitutionnel*, I tell them that I should feel more convinced of the reality of their confidence by the presence in their midst of that wisdom which is the true source of strength in matters of this kind. Willot asks the legislative body to repeal the law authorizing the Directorate to organize and to appoint the officers of the gendarmerie.

21st and 22d Messidor, Year V.—Bonaparte writes that the

emperor persists in refusing to negotiate except in congress. He says that he has intercepted the despatches of a courier sent by D'Antraigues to Boissy-d'Anglas, Madier, and others; he adds that D'Antraigues is insolent, and that he already counts upon some support. We shall presently see what explanation D'Antraigues himself gives concerning what Bonaparte calls his insolence and his threats.

Larevellière submits the draft of a reply to Bonaparte, in which he approves of his conduct and asks that strong repressive measures may be taken against the *émigrés* and fanatics. (This letter had already been agreed to between ourselves.) Rewbell consents, but Carnot, in the course of some observations, proposes to approve only of what has been done with regard to Genoa and Venice. I add, "And of all Bonaparte's operations in Italy." Agreed to.

Barthélemy, with his usual candor, expresses his grief at seeing the change of Government in Genoa and Venice. For my part, I consider this an opportune moment for issuing a proclamation to the French people in which it should be made clear to them that if the conclusion of the peace is delayed, it must be attributed to the indiscreet and violent resolutions passed by the legislative body, and to the return and unconcealed protection of the *émigrés*, priests, and other enemies of liberty. I desire, with Larevellière, that the purchasers of national lands shall be made fully secure, that the cutthroats shall be punished, and that finally the Directorate shall announce its intention of using every means that the law has given it. Carnot believes this proclamation to be premature; Barthélemy and Rewbell think the same. Larevellière proposes, as an alternative, that the greater part of my proposals be inserted in the president's speech on the 26th. Agreed to.

Carnot wishes to give the Venetian Isles to the King of Naples, provided that the Island of Elba be ceded to the Republic. Rewbell, Larevellière, and myself are astonished at this desire to go on aggrandizing kings at the expense of the liberty of nations. This diplomacy bears too great a resemblance to our former policy: we must proceed on totally different lines. The only conclusion we arrive at is that Bonaparte must be asked to give his opinion on the Island of Elba. It is scarcely possible to foresee what peculiar interest the Island of Elba will one day possess for him who is now consulted on the subject.

The Minister of Police reports that during the night of the 19th the terrorists had prepared some movement and were afoot in the Faubourg Antoine. The conspirators put forward as a justification of their wakefulness, which they were pleased to call vigilance, the necessity of opposing the execution of a design discovered by them aiming at the abolition of the gendarmerie and the reconstruction of the National Guard on lines that would introduce into it the enemies of the Republic.

Carnot and Cochon are loud in their praises of Doulcet, one of the deputies most attached to the Government. Doulcet has been to the Minister of Police, and has informed him of the return of the Duc de Lévis to France. The Duke will shortly visit Paris, and will stay with Doulcet, hoping to be safe in his house. Has M. de Lévis left London in order to enroll himself among the enemies of the Republic? M. Doulcet has promised to report all his movements to the police.

23d Messidor, Year V.—The Minister Truguet has received from all sides more alarming news than ever concerning the state of France. The counter-revolution comes on apace; the enemies are no longer at any pains to conceal their plans, and openly announce that they are supported, and that all will soon be changed. Measures must undoubtedly be taken. Truguet declares that he did not consider it compatible with his duty to leave the Government any longer in ignorance of the dangers that threaten the country. I reply that for some time past there has been a most lamentable split among the members of the Government, some of them having been clever enough to paralyze its deliberations. Can it be possible that guarantees of safety have been given to the assassins? Although composed of a Republican majority, is the Government anything more than a mere phantom?

Despatches from our plenipotentiaries at Lille give little hope for the conclusion of the peace. Negotiations have been entered into with Malmesbury, the English envoy, at Lille, but the Directorate has emphatically declared that these can only be proceeded with on the understanding that all the French possessions and those of the allies shall be restored, and guaranteed by law, the Constitution, and the treaties. Barthélemy is opposed to the idea of sending such an imperious note to Malmesbury; he desires that each clause, and especially that of the *sine qua non*, be discussed upon its own merits. He continually makes

use of the expression *retentum*, and every sentence of his speech gives a poor idea of his talents as a diplomatist, and certainly as a speaker.

Pérignon, who should have ceased to be our ambassador at Madrid for a long time past, is, however, still there in that capacity. By an order of the Directorate he is to be informed that M. Cabarrus is mistaken in believing that the Directorate is willing to receive him as an ambassador in Paris. Pérignon will have to acquaint the prince with the will of the Directorate concerning his envoy. M. d'Arengio begs to be allowed to come to Paris in order to treat separately for the peace between Portugal and France. Permission given.

A fresh conference between Rewbell, Larevellière, and myself in order to discuss the means of saving the Republic, now threatened on every side. We recognize the necessity of having Ministers whose sentiments and opinions do not clash with our efforts. Bénézech, Cochon, and Pétiet will be replaced by François de Neufchâteau, Lenoir-Laroche, and Hoche.

Prince de Carency, who has been in the enemy's camp for some time, has left it for that of the Republic. He is the better able to serve us since the Royalists and the *émigrés*, believing him to be still with them, have not lost the slightest confidence in him, and keep him well posted in all their active plotting. Carency has already given me some valuable information; yesterday he told me that the Clichien committee was ruled and governed by D'André, who is paid by England and by all the parties that can afford to do so; further, that Tronçon-Ducoudray, Portalis, Lemérer, Siméon, Boissy-d'Anglas, Pastoret, Vaublanc, and many others are members of the same committee, and that they are all in league with the enemy. Their system is to

obtain a hold upon public opinion by corruption, and to gain over to their side all the priests, *émigrés*, and others who are hostile to the Republic; they have agents in all the departments charged with organizing disturbances. To bring matters to a head, they are doing their utmost to discredit the Directorate and to paralyze all its means of defence. Their aim is to organize a national guard in Paris, the composition of which shall differ entirely from that of the former body, which was much too democratic, since it admitted the *bourgeoisie* pell-mell, and without at all distinguishing them from the people. These gentlemen, therefore, wish to organize a gendarmerie on their own lines in order to get rid of the existing body, in which there are still many military defenders of liberty. As the Directorate guard and gendarmerie of the legislative body are also Republican in spirit, they will be replaced by a departmental force composed of young men of good family whose fathers have remained loyal to the monarchy. Carency adds that, under the pretext of concentrating the whole of our available strength on the frontier, everything will be done to remove from the Directorate all the military support upon which it relies. In order that there may be no opposition to the carrying out of this plan, it is decided that the influential members of the Councils shall make a feint of approaching one of the parties in the Directorate to bring about a split in the majority; if that majority, however, persists in holding together, issue is to be joined with the minority of the Directorate only. The Clichy gang of plotters looks upon the Ministers of Police, of the Interior, and of War, as well as upon

General Moreau, as belonging to its side. They are waiting for a man of some importance, and demand that Menou be set to work. The *ci-devant* Bishop d'Alès (*sic;* Alais?), the most dangerous man of this party, is in Paris. He has the clergy in his favor, and very extensive powers have been sent him from Blankenburg and London. The Clichiens, according to what Carency tells us, intend making use of some of the members of the old Constituent Assembly who enjoy a certain popularity, and are good tacticians in revolutionary movements. We also hear from Carency that an English agent has been despatched to Wickham, who is in Switzerland. He will pass through Paris on his way back, and will then proceed to Blankenburg. England pays and directs everything. Lavauguyon, Carency's father, has been dismissed by Louis XVIII. because he opposed the English. The return of the agent who was sent to England is impatiently awaited; he is the bearer of money. A plan of attack will have to be drawn up, the details of which have not yet been determined. Rovère, although fallen into contempt, has been enrolled by the Blankenburg party. Negotiations will be opened with Pichegru, who says neither yes nor no. M. de Saint-Priest, who is still devoted to Louis XVIII., would be the most dangerous man in the Court if he had more ability. Of all the other plotters of the party, the one is a greater nonentity than the other. Since it is difficult to rely absolutely upon the declarations of a turncoat, even when he bases his devotion upon gratitude for services he has received, I would not place much faith in all that Carency says if events in general did not indorse the truth of his state-

ments. I impart these important communications to my two colleagues Rewbell and Larevellière. I also present my informant to them, whom they receive with great kindness.

27th Messidor, Year V.—Rewbell asks that a message be sent instructing the legislative body with regard to the proposal made for repealing the law relating to the organization of the gendarmerie. He submits a draft which he has prepared. Carnot thinks some of the terms employed too strong to admit the hope of any arrangement being made between the two powers. According to Carnot, the only means of arriving at the desired understanding would be to act in accordance with the views of the majority of the two Councils, whatever their opinion might be, to obey their laws and see that they were executed, and to immediately dismiss the four Ministers who are distasteful to the national representatives and the "people." It is a long time since Carnot made use of the word "people" in a good sense—a word which, now that he is in the Government, only presents a sorry meaning to his mind, and which he is always trying to associate with ignoble and anarchical ideas. All words, however, fit the passions, and the dictionary contains few that cannot be brought into use when occasion requires it. Carnot makes a formal proposal to dismiss the four Ministers—which dismissal, he says, will be agreeable to the people. The four Ministers themselves arriving just as the debate concerning them was about to begin, it is interrupted and adjourned till the morrow.

28th Messidor, Year V.—The debate upon the message submitted yesterday by Rewbell is resumed; the message is agreed to in spite of Carnot's remarks. He himself renews his demand for the dismissal of the four Ministers, Truguet, Lacroix, Merlin, and Ramel, always dwelling upon the fact that the majority of the deputies desire this dismissal. Rewbell asks that the Secretary-General shall take down his opinion, as well as that of the other members, and all the proposals that are made in the course of this debate. He criticises the motives put forward by Carnot, and maintains that the latter made a great mistake yesterday by dragging the "people" into a question about which, if consulted, it would decide quite otherwise than we are asked to believe. The great majority, the generality of Republicans, who

represent the people far more truly than the gentlemen of Clichy, demand just the opposite of what is asked for here: they wish to retain precisely those Ministers whose dismissal is urged upon us, and the expulsion of those whom it is proposed to retain. Rewbell, however, is not opposed to discussing either the retention or the dismissal of the Ministers as a whole. He concludes, in fact, by making that proposal.

The resolution moved by Carnot to dismiss the four Ministers having been omitted from the minutes, the secretary is ordered to rectify the omission. Larevellière writes his opinion; it is the same as Rewbell's, and most strenuously opposed to that of Carnot. To settle the matter, I move that the vote be taken at once, and upon each Minister separately. We commence with Ramel, Minister of Finance, and then take Merlin, Minister of Justice. Both are retained by the vote of Rewbell, Larevellière, and myself, Barthélemy and Carnot voting against them. The Minister of the Interior is next put to the vote; he is dismissed by the three of us, and supported by Barthélemy and Carnot. Pétiet and Cochon are also supported by Barthélemy and Carnot, but dismissed by us three. In the necessity of coming to some kind of terms, we are unable to retain Truguet and Charles Lacroix; they are dismissed. We now proceed to replace those who are to go, voting not by ballot, but openly. Rewbell, Larevellière, and I support Talleyrand for Foreign Affairs; Pléville Le Peley for Marine; Lenoir-Laroche for Police; François de Neufchâteau for the Interior; Hoche for War. Carnot and Barthélemy vote for Redon, Kolker, Pétiet, Cochon, and Bénézech. The two Directors, crestfallen by their minority, several times moved for an adjournment till the morrow, their faces betraying their agitation when they saw the result of such unity in the majority.

29th Messidor, Year V.—Carnot and his brother pay a visit of condolence to the Ministers Pétiet, Cochon, and Bénézech. Barthélemy, like a good diplomat, is wise enough to take Lenoir-Laroche to his arms, and congratulates himself upon having him for a Minister. So that his dismissal may not take the form of one, Bénézech would wish it to appear as though he had handed in his resignation.

The Directorate, having no desire to humiliate those who are no longer of any use to it, consents to the form of a resignation, and accords the same to such of the other Ministers as may desire it.

Carnot would like to find some means outside of regaining that power which he feels he has lost with us—just as if any organization, whatever it might be, could save him from the law of the majority; he frequently visits Pichegru. Willot and Villaret have been to see Barthélemy and Carnot; they take credit for having had the *finesse*, which might be termed artlessness, of trying to induce Talleyrand not to accept his post. They little suspected how entirely contrary the wishes of the new Minister ran, and that while he appeared to be with them he was really with us. Nor could they know how he had worked me through Madame de Staël and so many others, and that he had also captured my colleagues, especially Rewbell, who had been so difficult to get at, and who would never have allowed Talleyrand's appointment to pass, if it had not somehow slipped into the squabble of which we have only just seen the beginning. . . . Willot and Villaret, in order to prevent Talleyrand from accepting the post, told him that they were very confident that a revolution would soon upset everything, and that he would then obtain a place in the Ministry by general acclamation. Talleyrand kept me constantly and secretly informed of these underhand dealings through Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant, who took their turn in coming to see me; they too, honestly believing in Talleyrand, tried to impress me with the merits he possessed, and with the value of his fidelity to my person. "It was from a feeling of

true devotion for me that he 'accepted' the post; the Clichiens had offered it to him, but it was incompatible with his honor to desire to hold anything from the enemies of liberty. I should soon see how useful Talleyrand would be to us, and how France would thank me for this valuable acquisition." Such were the speeches concerning Talleyrand I had to hear from all these simple people; I was perhaps not less simple than they at that decisive moment when, to use a common phrase, I helped the ex-Bishop of Autun to place his foot upon the ladder.

I have no hesitation in looking upon the dismissal of the Ministers Truguet and Lacroix, and especially upon the substitution of Talleyrand for the latter, as a great mistake. We were all on our guard against him, all determined not to let him make his way into the Government, and yet there he is. Talleyrand's prominent name is a warning to France of what is in store for her. The only really doubtful man among our Ministers was Bénézech; and even he was so very tractable that the Government need not have feared any act of disobedience on his part. Although the relations existing between the Ministers on the one hand and Carnot and the anti-revolutionists on the other were of such an obsequious nature as to almost lead one to believe that they were based upon some mutual liking and understanding, it ought to have been patent to us, from the very hatred that our common enemies bore them, that the sacrificed Ministers were much more on our side than on that of the Clichy party. It was just at this moment that Truguet wrote me a letter breathing forth candor and truth, and which

showed me exactly where the mischief lay. Why had I not received this earlier, and why, even then, was it impossible for me to rectify our mistakes? Whence came this idea for a change of Ministers? I have not the slightest hesitation in answering that it probably came from her who egged us on to make Talleyrand a Minister. How could Talleyrand have been made a Minister by a single dismissal, and without some movement that might have at least the appearance of being dictated by public opinion and the necessities of a reorganized system? I mention Truguet's letter here, although it is our indictment. If, as is very probable, this brave admiral, this excellent citizen survives me, he will find here the expression of my sorrow for the double mistake that soon became so evident.

After having fully recognized the gravity of the error we committed in dismissing the old Ministers and in appointing the new ones, especially one of them, I must not conceal any of the details that throw light upon this unfortunate matter, even if these shameful particulars should be used against myself and aggravate my own share of wrong-doing in the business.

Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant being the two individuals who, as I have related, had most persistently urged me to make Talleyrand a Minister, I sent the news of the appointment, as soon as it was made, to Benjamin Constant, in order that he might announce it to the person most interested. Constant, in the ardor of his friendship, lost not a moment in carrying the news to the Minister-elect. Talleyrand was at the theatre, endeavoring to beguile the weariness of waiting; he was accompanied

by M. de Castellane, his colleague in the Constituent Assembly, and his companion in many other less public assemblies, whom he has since created a peer of France. When Benjamin announced the great news, Talleyrand hugged him to his bosom, and M. de Castellane could not refrain from following the example of this joyful effusion. Talleyrand then immediately left the theatre, and taking his two friends by the arm, said to them, "Let us go and thank Barras at once." He jumped into a carriage, and placing himself between his two companions, incessantly repeated in a deep, hollow voice the following few words, emphasizing them by continually striking both his neighbors on the knee: "We are in possession of the stronghold; we must make an immense fortune in it—an immense fortune—an immense fortune—a fortune immense." I have heard that this refrain had not yet stopped by the time Talleyrand had reached my house, where he made his entry in a very humble and simple fashion, declaring that the chief value of the post in his eyes lay in the fact of his having received it from me; that his liking for me was a personal one, if I would be good enough to allow him to add a feeling of friendship to his respectful gratitude. In the important post that the Directorate had deigned to confer upon him he wished to be guided only by me, to act according to my thoughts and wishes. He looked upon me as the sole Director, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Revolution, of the Republic, and of the armies. I cannot repeat the whole string of cold, empty compliments that he lavished upon me, and into which he attempted to put some warmth by the expression of his impassive

features, and even by the gestures of his whole body, so incapable of any movement. This was not enough; the courtier felt obliged to accompany all these submissive speeches with tears; and to convince me of the presence of these, so that I might not possibly be left in ignorance of the reality of his emotion, he even went so far as to kiss me with a wet face. Knowing that I was in the habit of retiring very early, Talleyrand expressed a fear that he might be robbing me of a few moments of rest, although it was not yet eleven o'clock. He begged me not to stand on ceremony, and to make no scruple of undressing before him; he even followed me into my bedroom, and I was obliged to stop him from carrying his zeal to the point of arranging the bed-clothes for me, when, tired of all these servile attentions—which I have never accepted from even the meanest of my dependants — I escaped from Talleyrand by wishing him good-night. "By this time," I said, "you will have received the official intimation of your appointment; therefore come and present yourself to the Directorate to-morrow at mid-day." "Under your auspices, citizen Director," he replied, making a profound bow. At last he went. My servants, who let him out, told me that he wanted to embrace them all; he did not even pass the hall-porter without giving him a cordial hand-shake. This is an example of the warmth and enthusiasm of which even the most phlegmatic men are capable when their interest is concerned. Compare this tender-hearted, affectionate Talleyrand, so eager to embrace the door-keepers and flunkies, with him who, invested with power, will ere long attempt to make a dignity of insolence

and think himself entitled to assume once more the lordly airs of long ago, because he is about to feed upon the Republic of to-day. It will be guessed that I could not have obtained many of the details just given from any other than Madame de Staël; and as she got them herself from Benjamin Constant, there is no reason to fear that they have suffered any alteration. How often have not Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant, with a contemptuous laugh at Talleyrand's conduct, repeated these words: "Oh! he has really kept his word in respect of the making of an immense fortune—that is to say, as far as regards himself!"

The Directorate, in its zeal for work at the commencement of its career, had perhaps undertaken too many details and exercised administrative rather than governing powers. We recognize the necessity of ridding ourselves of the burden of these troublesome details, which impede our thoughts and relieve the Ministers of that responsibility which is our sole guarantee. Larevellière proposes to abolish the offices established at the Directorate, and to send all the documents they contain to the different Ministerial departments they concern. Carnot supports him.

30*th Messidor, Year V.*—Charles Lacroix, though no longer Minister of Foreign Affairs, will remain in charge of the negotiations entered upon with Portugal. Notification will be given to the outgoing Ministers that the Directorate relies upon their zeal and loyalty in furnishing their successors all necessary information. Carnot refuses to sign as president the message relating to the gendarmerie. His agitated face is not only sad but tear-stained, and he is in haste to bring the sitting to a close. I demand that the refusal of the president to sign the message be placed upon the minutes.

Pichegru, Willot, Villaret, and others are agitating in every direction; they are trying to persuade Carnot and Barthélemy to resign, as a protest against continuing to sit with colleagues who protect the Jacobins. The deputy Lacuée tells the Commission of Inspectors that the Directorate has laid aside the

mask by its dismissal of Cochon, Bénézech, and Pétiet, who carry with them the esteem of honest citizens; he also adds that before a month is over things will have changed. Portalis says that the dismissal of the Ministers is a challenge to all good men.

Can the country, then, no more be saved by constitutional means? Do the latter exist only to irritate the very men who are always preaching law and order? Shall we be reduced ere long to the necessity of defending the laws by the force of arms? Sad and fatal misunderstanding of five men who can agree on the principles involved in the great question of liberty, but are not at one concerning the mode of putting them into practice, and who, considering persons before things, do not recognize the necessity of making mutual sacrifices of opinion, even when the latter is but the expression of an idea approved by all! Would that the Constitution of the Year III., which laid down so many wise provisions, had not neglected one of the most important! Would that it had been foreseen that the two great powers of the State, exposed to heated discussions, would end by engaging in a struggle that could be brought before no higher court for settlement! Would that it had armed the executive Directorate with the right of dissolving the Chamber! . . . The idea to which I give vent here is by no means a posthumous commentary upon an empty Utopia. . . . But events come pressing on, and fly past in rapid succession. They no longer depend upon the men who appear to be their authors—what is destined must be fulfilled! Must the establishment of a great Republic still remain a dream, when legislation, administration, and the triumphs of war had made it an almost accomplished fact?

CHAPTER XXXII

Hoche at the Directorate — His complaints against Carnot — His visit to me—Why he does not accept his appointment—Weakness of our plenipotentiaries at Lille—Troops cross the constitutional boundary line — Lively debates on the subject — Lenoir-Laroche agitated—Removal of documents by Cochon—Potter the Englishman—Suspicions of treason—Sharp attacks upon the Directorate in the Councils—Letter from Bonaparte upon the state of feeling in the Army of Italy — Carnot's opinion respecting the steps taken by the Directorate—Increasing irritation in the Army of Italy—The secret documents—Willot lodges information against Hoche and me — Petty and fruitless malice—MM. de la Harpe, de Vauxcelles, and Fontanes—Academic defamation — *The Crimes of Barras*—Rising in the department of the Nièvre—Scherer Minister of War—Will the Irish expedition depart?—A letter to Bonaparte—Conversation between Carnot and Bacon—*Naïveté* of Quatremère de Quincy and Lenormand—Bonaparte's fears concerning the peace—Reply of the English Cabinet to our ultimatum—The deputy d'Auchy and the Minister of Finance—Departure of Hoche—Threats to assassinate me and two other Directors—Measures demanded by the Five Hundred respecting the organization of the forces—An English agent—The ambassador Ali Effendi—Royal committee of deputies—Energetic declaration proposed by Bonaparte with regard to Austria—State of the negotiations with England—An attempt to ruin Hoche—Vehement tirade of Larevellière and Rewbell—Dumas declaims against the Directorate—Fresh academic calumnies.

2d Thermidor.—General Hoche presents himself at the Directorate, and announces that the troops which are just now the subject of complaint in the legislative body are ordered to proceed to Brest, so as to be at the disposal of the Minister of Marine. Hoche is asked to commit to writing what he has just declared, and thus avoid a deal of explanation. After the sitting, General Hoche comes to see me at my house, and publicly states that the

generals and the army are equally dissatisfied; that Carnot and his Topographical Bureau fill them with disgust; that they favor the aristocrats, and give proof of their lack of both sense and patriotism. Hoche would have accepted the post of Minister that is offered to him if he were thirty years old—the minimum limit of age established by law. In spite of the instructions of the Directorate, our plenipotentiaries at Lille still seem but little disposed to support our allies; they will be informed that rather than sacrifice one of the latter we would forego the indemnities due to the Republic.

On the 1st Thermidor, Carnot received several deputations of representatives with regard to the crossing of the constitutional boundary-line by the troops. He himself finds fault with the route taken by these troops to reach Brest. He says that Hoche has endangered the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse by depriving it of a great part of its cavalry. Carnot asks that the troops and their general be ordered to return to the army at once. It is decided that they are to remain wherever the messenger carrying the orders reaches them. Although Brest was the real destination of the forces in question, it was agreed with Rewbell and Larevellière that their march should be directed towards Paris. My two colleagues had authorized me to settle this matter with Hoche, and the approach of the troops was the result of our negotiations. The legislative body addresses a message on the subject to the Directorate; the latter replies that a war commissary has inadvertently laid down a route which might trespass upon the constitutional boundary by a few miles. Hoche comes to the Directorate, and assures us that there are still 11,000 horsemen in the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Henri Larivière and Dumolard make a violent attack upon the Directorate and upon Lenoir-Laroche. The latter informs us that his department is in a terrible state of disorder, and that he is tormented on all sides in order that he may be induced to tender his resignation. The new Minister, more accustomed to the quiet life of letters than to the trials of office, seems anything but happy in his new position. I ask several honorable deputies to go and encourage M. Lenoir-Laroche, and to report to me whether they consider him capable of carrying on the administration of the police. They tell me that Cochon, before leaving the department, carried off all the papers that might be useful or prejudicial to the Clichy party.

Potter, the Englishman, who has just come from London, informs us that we are being betrayed by a member of the Government; that the plans and instructions of the Directorate are regularly sent to Pitt.

4th Thermidor, Year V.—The Council of Five Hundred ask for an account of the troops that were in Paris last Messidor, and of those there now. It also asks for the name of the official who gave the order for the troops to proceed by way of La Ferté-Alais. The Directorate will reply to-morrow. The sitting of the Council was quieter, but the idea of the indictment is still vigorously adhered to. Vaublanc has told the deputy Vallée that they must be assured of a majority in the legislative body before making the attack.

Bonaparte writes that the army is indignant at the outrages committed in the Interior, and at the protection accorded to the returned *émigrés* and enemies of liberty. It is high time that the Government took strong measures to purge the Republic of all these brigands. He has difficulty, he says, in restraining the army; the anti-revolutionary resolutions passed by the legislative body defer all hope of peace; we shall never obtain it as long as the enemy has such bold allies in the legislative body and in the Interior. An end must be put to the civil discord.

Bonaparte adds that he would rather resign than suffer the pain of remaining a passive witness of all the troubles that threaten the Republic. At the Milan Federation a resolution was passed urging that the Clichy Club should be dispersed, and also that the enemies of liberty should again be expelled from the country. Finally, Bonaparte informs us that the Army of Italy talks of sending part of its troops into the Interior to bring to justice the assassins and anti-revolutionists, towards whom the Di-

rectorate has hitherto been too indulgent. Hoche assures us that the same feeling reigns in the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. Carnot interposes by saying that the counter-revolution is approaching; that it may take place within twenty-four hours, since we have set the legislative body against us. We ask him in what way we have done this. He replies, "By not expelling those Ministers who are repugnant to true patriots, and by dismissing those whom the latter held in esteem. As far as I am concerned," Carnot adds, "I shall always be on the side of the representative majority, no matter what its opinions and its aims may be; I shall always bow to its decision." Larevellière says that this way of thinking and speaking is a manifest desertion of the cause of the Republic, the overthrow of which has evidently been decided upon. He, for his part, would die, together with his two colleagues, in honorably defending its institutions. Carnot says that he has fears concerning the indictment to be brought against the Directorate. Rewbell replies, "You need have no fears: it is not aimed at you; you are excepted." He adds, "Besides, if they dare to bring their indictment, the party you protect will disappear altogether." Carnot remains silent.

5th Thermidor, Year V.—The irritation in the Army of Italy is by no means allayed. Augereau's division has drawn up an address so vigorous that Bonaparte hesitates to publish it. An address from Masséna's division to the Directorate, and one from Joubert to the Army of the Interior, have reached us. The number of signatories to the former is 12,000. Carnot thinks that it would be dangerous to publish these documents in view of the exceed-

ingly unbecoming terms in which they are couched. The Directorate decides that they are to be placed among the secret papers.

Willot calls the attention of the legislative body to the age of Hoche in connection with his appointment as Minister of War. Hoche had forestalled this move by holding up his age as the very reason for refusing the post as soon as he had heard of his appointment to it. Willot also calls attention to the age of Barras. The Council of Five Hundred draw up a message calling upon the Ministers of Marine and War to produce the documents that General Hoche and the Director Barras should have handed in on entering the service; these might serve to establish their exact age.

On my proposition, the matter is referred to the Ministers. The one reports that his department is in possession of no document whatever on the matter: the other, that certain papers prove the Director Barras to have been forty years and three months of age on entering the Directorate. The reports will be sent to the legislative body. Some of the deputies come and tell us that this piece of malice was due to Carnot, who must have furnished Willot with some documents lodged in my uncle's time by a young lieutenant in the *gardes du corps*, who was his nephew and bore our name. The whole matter, however, was to be very easily explained: the young lieutenant, in whom they thought they had discovered me, was no other than my younger brother, and I at the time was serving in the Pondicherry regiment in India. The matters upon which we had to satisfy these inquisitors will give some idea of the good faith and good taste of

our adversaries. The following is an extract from the *Mémorial*, then edited by three Academicians, MM. de la Harpe, de Vauxcelles, and Fontanes: "Barras has had his age posted all over the walls, but the more he certifies that he was forty years old when appointed, the more incredulous people become. They say that to be really certain of this fact, not only the certificates, but even the certifiers themselves would have to be certified, and that the matter has probably been arranged with the proconsul Fréron. The following is an anecdote taken from the Memoirs of Saint-Simon, and bearing some analogy to the production of Barras's baptismal certificate. There existed in a parish of the Limousin an entry of the marriage of the famous Dubois, who had been created a cardinal and premier minister during the Regency. Breteuil, the *intendant* of that province, is given to understand that he will be rendering His Eminence a great service by discovering this entry; by discovery was of course meant suppression. Breteuil betakes himself to the Limousin, and drops in quite casually one evening upon the good *curé* whose registers contain the entry of the marriage. He had lost his way, he said, and had come to crave the hospitality of the worthy pastor, with whom he insisted upon supping *en tête-à-tête*. The simple country supper is got ready and served, and the *intendant*, having some of the excellent wine brought in with which he had stocked his carriage, pours it out freely while he praises the good cheer, the cordiality, and the good name of his host. 'They say that your registers are marvellously well kept.' 'I take a pride in them,' replies the pastor, bringing

them in and placing them before his lordship. His lordship admires them, but continues pouring out the wine until he sees his host nodding, when, turning up the page that contains the wished-for entry, he tears it out noiselessly and closes the register. The next morning he takes his departure, leaving the *curé* enchanted and quite convinced that his registers will gain him a great reputation. There is something pleasing and almost worthy of admiration in this abstraction," continues M. de Fontanes, the editor-in-chief of the *Mémorial;* "but the proconsul Fréron has much more persuasive means at his disposal, and the only thing that he and the *intendant* of the Limousin have in common is the extreme desire of serving the all-powerful man who has need of them. There is another thing about this poster of Barras's which is worthy of note; it is printed on the same paper and with the same type as a most incendiary Jacobin placard that the same bill-posters stuck up beside it on the same day."

While some are libelling us in such an outrageous manner, it is almost necessary to defend ourselves against the flattery of others. There is no telling what schemes men will concoct in order to reach the source of power, which they think it absolutely necessary to do in order to get money. To attract my attention, a certain individual has thought fit to publish a pamphlet which he calls *The Crimes of Barras*, and which is but a poor defence of my conduct.

Some disturbances have taken place in the department of the Nièvre, and have resulted in the death of several citizens. The Minister of Police in his report blames the central administration of the Nièvre for the reprehensible weakness which it dis-

played. Is it not time that the Directorate decided to divest the enemies of the Republic of such important functions? Carnot replies that it is impossible to think of taking measures until we have instituted a searching inquiry.

Barthélemy and Carnot propose Kolken as a substitute for Pléville Le Peley at Lille. Rejected.

Scherer is appointed Minister of War in place of Hoche. Carnot and I vote against Scherer. Desmousseaux, commissary of the *bureau central*, is dismissed in spite of the protection that Carnot granted him.

7th Thermidor, Year V.—Hoche still hopes to carry out the expedition to Ireland; the idea is also favored and seconded by the new Minister of Marine. It is therefore proposed to order the troops who were on their way to Brest to continue their march. Carnot opposes this measure; he had formerly supported the expedition with all his might, but now his fears seem to be even greater than those of the English themselves. He is afraid that the anarchists of Sambre-et-Meuse will enter Paris. The Ministers are to report on the matter.

General Hoche is authorized by the Minister of Marine to detach 9000 men of all arms from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. The Directorate does not think that the army will be at all endangered by the withdrawal of this small force, which is consequently ordered to proceed towards the departments of the West. It will allay the fears of loyal citizens in those parts, and will then form part of the expedition to Ireland. The Dutch squadron, acting in unison with us, is to make for that island. If we remain loyal to our engagements and carry out the plans agreed upon, we cannot jeopardize the safety of the Dutch fleet. All the orders given by General Hoche are in accordance with the instructions of our allies, and promise a brilliant success if they are well supported by the Navy. The 9000 men are intended for carrying out an operation which is to remain secret. The general has had to choose for this purpose such troops as have often gained a victory on account of the reciprocal confidence of men and officers. The proposal made for a retrograde movement of the troops towards the Rhine is neither a reasonable nor a patriotic one, since it is against the most implacable enemy of our country that all our efforts should be directed. This opinion is shared by the majority.

Rewbell, Larevellière, and I write to Bonaparte to inform him

of all that is taking place. Hoche is animated by the best of intentions, and is determined to second the Government.

Carnot, in a conversation with Bacon, said, "If I were master, I would kill all the parties, and even Orléans." "And what if you were obliged to adopt one of them?" replied Bacon. "For however impartial one may wish to be, there are always two very distinct parties; the rest is merely a matter of degrees. You are mistaken if you believe neutrality possible; besides, neutrality is merely a phrase. He who believes in it deceives himself, and perishes overwhelmed by the bad opinion of every one."

Quatremère de Quincy and Lenormand, deputies, have candidly admitted to General Hoche that they had wasted too much time in making petty attacks upon the Directorate. Many of their friends who might have been very useful had been obliged to leave Paris, and were now lost "to the good cause." It would have been better to strike a decisive blow at once instead of skirmishing.

Bonaparte writes that the conclusion of the peace is retarded, and may soon even be abandoned. "This misfortune," he repeats, "will be due to the agitation of the legislative body, and to the protection afforded to the *émigrés* and fanatics."

The reply of the Court of St. James's to the ultimatum of the Directorate has arrived at Lille. The King of England consents to restore to the French Republic all that he has taken during the present war, but he refuses to give back to the allies several of the possessions he has seized, and with which he will do as he pleases. The Directorate cannot agree to any arrangement by which France is to be treated differently to our allies.

8th, 9th, and 10th Thermidor, Year V.—The deputy d'Auchy, accompanied by one of his colleagues, whose name is unknown to the Minister of Finance, came to warn the latter that the Commission of Finances is about to lay before the legislative body a series of complaints which it brings against the Directorate. From these no definite conclusions will be drawn, but the commission of *Inspecteurs de la salle*,[1] as well as the commission appointed to inquire into the march of the troops, will present their report, and prefer a formal indictment against the Directorate, signing the charges they make against the three members who form the majority. D'Auchy and his colleagues have, more-

[1] Officers charged with keeping order in the Councils.—Translator's note.

over, declared that a good many deputies of the new Third have received imperative orders relating to the re-establishment of the monarchy. Hoche took his departure after dining with me. He will issue a manifesto as soon as he arrives. I write to him to postpone doing so, and to send to the Directorate only the demands of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse.

The Minister of Police warns us that assassinations are being planned on all sides. Three members of the Directorate are singled out; he begs them to be on their guard. The murderers will begin with Barras. Rewbell and Larevellière swear never to sever their cause from mine.

The Council of Five Hundred passes divers resolutions concerning the violation of the constitutional military boundaries by the troops. The line that no troops dare overstep is drawn at a radius of ten myriameters from the place in which the legislative body is located. This distance is, of course, measured as the crow flies. There is also a lively discussion upon circumscribing the command of officers in their territorial divisions, and upon the repeal of the law relating to the organization of the gendarmerie. It seems as though all those who make such a great show of legislative prowess are in greater fear than those whom they wish to frighten. When two such determined political powers arrive at this stage of mutual defiance, what hope is there left for the country?

An agent from England and Blankenburg named Bayard, an inhabitant of Lyons, and the same man who figured in the Brottier and Lavilleheurnois conspiracy, is expected every moment in Paris with fresh plans and resources. We are indebted for this valuable information to the Prince de Carency, who has already rendered us great services by divulging the most important secrets concerning affairs on the other side of the Channel. He continues to give us proofs of the most absolute devotion, and promises to deliver up to the Minister of Police the English agent whose speedy arrival he announces.

We give an audience to the ambassador of the Ottoman Porte, Ali Effendi.

Barbé-Marbois, Pastoret, Lemérer, Siméon, Mersaut, and Job the elder[1] form a royal committee; Portalis, Rovère, and others are supposed to hold a procuration from England.

[1] Job *aîné* in the text; presumably Job Aymé.—Translator's note.

11th and 12th Thermidor, Year V.—Bonaparte proposes to send an ultimatum to Austria, declaring that if peace is not concluded by the 1st of September next, hostilities will be resumed. There is a great divergence of opinion upon this in the Directorate, and the discussion is adjourned till the 13th.

Negotiations with England will be broken off if that power persists in its refusal to restore to the Republic and to the allies what it has captured, but before that step is taken Spain and Holland will be informed of the state in which the negotiations are.

The 9000 men drawn from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse will continue their route towards the western departments, and thence to Ireland. Carnot persists in his desire to send them back to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, still forgetful of the amount of interest he took in the two former schemes of an expedition against Ireland. Both he and Barthélemy are desirous of giving the reasons upon which they base their opinion. We ask to be allowed to do the same, and also that our opinions be entered upon the minutes. Carnot then demands the execution of the order giving the command of the two Armies of the Rhine to General Moreau; but if the expedition to Ireland is not carried out, why should not Hoche go and resume his command of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse? A perverse minority seeks the downfall of this general, since he has shown his approval of the army petitions. Rewbell and Larevellière give vehement expression to their determination to share the fate of two generals who have rendered their country such distinguished services as Hoche and Bonaparte. Carnot is taken aback. It is decided that Hoche shall continue in command of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse until the embarkation of the Irish expedition.

The deputy Mathieu Dumas, who assumed such a sweet and persuasive manner when he posed as a mediator and offered to bring all sections to the feet of the Directorate, now considers himself free to dispense with such circumspection: he rises and declaims against the Directorate in a manner scarcely befitting one who is known for his careful and unfailing observance of what is right and proper.

The *Inspecteurs de la salle* form themselves into a tribunal, hearing witnesses and ordering the arrest of citizens. Blanchard, second in command of the guard of the legislative body, has

been summoned before them and questioned. Now let us see how the writers of the party, such as MM. de la Harpe, de Vauxcelles, and Fontanes, express themselves in support of the conspirators who accuse us of conspiring:

"Marching and counter-marching of the troops; meetings at the house of Director Barras.

"Letters relating to the advance of the troops arrive from all parts, addressed either to the representatives of the people or to other citizens. The special commission appointed by the Council of Five Hundred and that of the *inspecteurs* have received their full share of them. All these letters point to the investment of the capital and a raid upon the legislative body as the object of the march of the troops upon Paris. The officers and men have let fall a good deal on the way, and all their remarks have been faithfully reproduced in these letters. We learn from them that all the most enthusiastic men in the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse had been chosen for this expedition; that they had been promised good rewards in Paris; that they relied upon the support of 40,000 men of Bonaparte's troops; that they were to receive their ammunition at the gates of Paris; that, finally, the whole expedition was directed against the legislative body, which had been most carefully described to them in the blackest colors. Letters written by the officers themselves confirm all these details.

"Some administrators of the department of —— have sent two itineraries which are somewhat of a curiosity; they are dated the 14th Messidor. From the first of these sheets we learn that four regiments of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse are to arrive at Rosoy —the first on the 10th, the second on the 11th, the third on the 12th, and the fourth on the 13th Thermidor.

"The second sheet has it that the first of these four regiments is to arrive at Château-Thierry on the 6th, the second on the 7th, the third on the 8th, and the fourth on the 9th Thermidor.

"Now since Rosoy is on the route taken by these regiments to reach Château-Thierry, from which it is about thirty leagues distant, how is it that these four regiments, which are not to arrive at Rosoy before the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, can be at Château-Thierry, that is to say, thirty leagues farther, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of the same month? All this is unintelligible, but an attempt has been made to explain it by supposing that the troops had been furnished in advance with an itinerary of the route to

be taken on the return journey. Thus, if the expedition had fallen through, the four regiments might have returned from Château-Thierry to Rosoy, and arrived there on the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th. There are a few further remarks to be made upon these marches. The first is that the troops have always avoided the high-roads, taking cross-roads and by-ways in order to conceal their advance. The second, that they frequently stopped at places in which no notice had been received of their coming, and no rations prepared for them. The third, that these troops, since the countermanding of their orders, have dispersed, and that a number of unarmed and disguised soldiers have arrived in Paris. It is the administrators who give this information to their representatives. General Richepanse was in command of these troops, it being intended that the staff should follow, and information has been received that horses and wagons to carry thirty thousand weight of baggage were being prepared. Letters from Mézières announce that the troops are returning, their advance having been countermanded. There is a rumor that several officers met at the house of Barras the day before yesterday, and this fact is giving rise to much uneasiness. A few days before the triumviral conspiracy came to a head, meetings had been held at Suresnes in the house of Barras, and people who follow the movements of the latter pretty closely had warned the representatives of the people to be on their guard.

"A DEPUTY."

CHAPTER XXXIII

Report on the state of the negotiations—Concerning the exchange of prisoners—Willot declaims against the march of the troops on Paris—Carnot's opinion upon the withdrawal of the troops from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse—Bonaparte is asked for a general of his choosing—He gives Augereau leave of absence—Uneasiness of the two Directors—Hoche bids me farewell—Vows of eternal friendship—Our resolutions—A motion agreed to in advance—Illness of Hoche—Bonaparte's impatience concerning the peace—Readmission of several provinces into the Cisalpine Republic—Addresses from the Army of Italy—The soldiers ordered to rejoin their regiments—Carnot and the Terrorists—Report on the *Invalides*—Boursier, Menou, and Felino—The deputy Larue—The *inspecteurs de la salle* at the Directorate—Murinais—The President's reply—Several provincial communes declared in a state of siege—Persistence of Barthélemy and Carnot with regard to the message relating to the army addresses—Augereau at the Directorate—An expression claimed by Carnot—Augereau's energetic resolve—He is Commandant of the 17th division—Peace with Portugal—Hesitation of Bernadotte respecting the address—He sends it at last—A doubtful *if*—Bonaparte eulogizes Bernadotte—His Republicanism—Misunderstanding with Augereau—Bonaparte takes advantage of it—Annexation of the Venetian Isles—Anti-papal proposal of the Neapolitan ambassador—Message respecting the addresses—M. Thugut—Letter from Bonaparte to the Pope—The chevalier Davanzo Dazevedo—Fresh outrages in the south—*Fête* of the 10th of August—Debate on the peace with Austria—Carnot's opinion—Rewbell makes a violent attack upon him—His agitation—Our spies—Letter from Lavalette to Bonaparte—Decision of the Directorate—Irritation in Paris—Prudent reserve on the part of Moreau—A witty expression of Hoche—His speech on the 10th of August—General Verdière—Donmartin—Adjutant-General Guillet—Alarming news from London.

13th Thermidor, Year V.—The Directorate passes a resolu-

tion calling upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to present a detailed report upon the state of the peace negotiations. This resolution, adopted without any discussion by the majority, has greatly embarrassed Barthélemy; his silence leads us to believe that he has guessed our desire to make him speak. It is also resolved that Bonaparte be instructed to continue the negotiations, but to be fully prepared in case the Emperor should persist in his refusal to agree to a separate treaty.

On the report of the Minister of Marine, it is resolved that due regard shall in future be paid in the exchange of prisoners to the order of their seniority.

Willot has again been using violent language concerning the Directorate in connection with the march of the troops upon Paris. He confers upon the matter with a Director, and demands that the documents be referred to the Commission of Inspectors in order that they may be fully reported upon.

15th and 16th Messidor, Year V.—Carnot again airs his opinion that the troops withdrawn from the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse should be sent back to that army; he has his opinion placed upon the minutes, the other members doing likewise. Carnot remains silent, although pressed by Rewbell to explain himself more fully.

In reply to Bonaparte's numerous messages offering to place at our disposal whatever resources his army could yield, I have arranged with my two colleagues that he should be asked to send us the general whom he thinks most able to support the efforts of the friends of liberty; he is also to be told that if peace were concluded, we should be charmed to receive in our midst the general himself who had acted with such remarkable tact on the 13th Vendémiaire. Bonaparte seems to be by no means anxious to take part in an adventure similar to the last, and which might turn out less happily. If, however, it should prove successful, he would be sorry to see another, and especially General Hoche, obtain credit for it. He therefore desires that what is to be done

should, since he is unable to do it himself, be undertaken by a general belonging to his army, and of his choosing. Bonaparte has given Augereau leave to go to Paris. I read the letter in which he sends me this piece of news; we look at each other, and the minority seems very uneasy. For what purpose does Augereau, who was in Paris less than two months ago, come back again on leave?

General Hoche, having arrived at the conclusion that the obstacles in the way of the Irish expedition are for the moment insurmountable, makes up his mind to return to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. He comes to my house at five in the morning to tell me that he is just about to start. "We must have courage and determination," he says, "to check the machinations of the enemies of liberty." He will correspond with me privately every day. "Royalism is outdoing us; how sorry I am to leave you, Barras," he says to me as he folds me in his arms. "Remember that for us there can be no compromise; if you do not forestall those who wish to kill us, they will do worse than kill us—they will betray us, and liberty will be lost! If you are not well supported here, you had better come and stay with the army I command. Together we will take vigorous measures to keep our country out of its enemies' clutches. Our hearts beat in unison—they are as inseparable as our destinies."

I reply that for no personal reason and under no circumstances ought I to leave my post; I am accustomed to be in the vanguard. My two colleagues and I will save the Republic; we are absolutely determined to act, and that before many days are over. The return of Hoche, however, to the

Army of Sambre-et-Meuse is necessary, in order that the troops which he will despatch may reach the constitutional boundary as soon as possible. I will have a resolution passed approving of the orders he is about to give. Two aides-de-camp only will remain with me to carry the despatches. Hoche adds: "You have no money here; your two colleagues have admitted as much. I have some funds at headquarters, and as soon as I arrive, I can send you a few thousand louis that may be useful to the Directorate in an emergency."

We have arranged with General Hoche that his army is to make its voice heard in addresses to the Directorate, which will take measures to support them. Hoche is deeply moved; we part after swearing eternal friendship. Besides the confidential aides-de-camp who have been left at my disposal, it has been decided between ourselves that Hoche is to send me Chérin, the chief of his staff, a trusty and intelligent patriot, and that Tilly will leave Namur at the head of a second column.

My colleagues, having heard and approved of all that was arranged between Hoche and myself, pass a formal resolution confirming all that has been agreed upon. This I send to Hoche, telling him that we are all in perfect accord and preparing for the great blow; that he must be on his guard, and that he will be kept fully informed of all that goes on. The unfortunate general had already felt on his journey the first symptoms of a malady that was to break out in a more pronounced form upon his arrival at headquarters. His throat and chest were in a terrible state of inflammation.

Bonaparte assures us that we have been tricked

by Austria in the most shameful manner, that peace will never be concluded as long as the provinces are governed by Royalists, and unless the Directorate takes some decisive measures to put these people down. Bonaparte, moreover, promises to reach Vienna in time for the vintage, especially if the Army of the Rhine and that of Sambre-et-Meuse act in concert with him. Carnot is opposed to all further hostilities; he reads a letter from Clarke showing the dangers that a fresh war involves, and would like to see peace concluded with Italy. The Directorate resolves that the negotiations are to be continued. Bonaparte will hold himself ready to act if compelled to do so; the same orders to be sent to the Armies of the Rhine.

Arrival of Augereau's aide-de-camp, bringing news that Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna have, in accordance with their wishes, been included in the Cisalpine Republic; he lays before us fresh addresses, reading out the following document with the enthusiasm of one really possessed:

CITIZEN DIRECTORS,

Of all animals produced by the freaks of Nature, a king is the vilest, a courtier the most cowardly, but a priest the worst of all.

If you are in fear of the Royalists, call upon the Army of Italy; it will soon make a clean sweep of Chouans, Royalists, and English. We will pursue the assassins to the very bedchamber of George the Third, and treat the Clichy Club in the same way as that of Raincy.

(Signed) THE 21ST BRIGADE OF INFANTRY,
STATIONED AT MANTUA.

17*th Thermidor, Year V.*—Carnot and Barthélemy seem to be quite upset by the reading of this ad-

dress. In a voice choking with passion, they declare that they have never heard of such shameless language and such an audacious form of patriotism. General Bonaparte forgets both his duty to himself and to the Directorate in laying before the latter such an atrocious document. They propose to censure the addresses sent by all the armies; it would be dangerous to allow this state of things to continue. They ask that a resolution embodying the Directorate's disapproval of the addresses be sent to Bonaparte. Rewbell ironically replies to Carnot that the only thing to do is to bring an indictment against the Army of Italy. It cannot be disguised that addresses like those just read really go too far, and that it is difficult to excuse the terms in which they are couched, even having regard to the temper of the times. It is a continuation of the *sans-culottisme*, with samples of which the author of the *Souper de Beaucaire* regaled us at Toulon; but in a time of revolution, when a hostile party makes a deadly attack upon us, we cannot be particular in choosing either our means of defence or our defenders. We must turn everything to account, and we have no time to inquire closely into the character of those who come to save us—we must take them as they come, or perish. Actuated by the conviction of this necessity, I myself have not the slightest hesitation in publicly declaring that I approve of the addresses of this army. If the families of our brave soldiers are despoiled and outraged in the provinces, is it not natural for the defenders of the country to remind the Government of its duties and rights? While the Republic triumphs abroad, its citizens must be protected at home. The pro-

posal put forward by Carnot and Barthélemy to censure the addresses is therefore negatived.

Carnot proposes to pass a decree obliging all soldiers on active service who are in Paris and absent from their corps to leave the city and rejoin their regiments at once. This proposal is also being laid before the legislative body. The Directorate refers the matter to the Minister of War, who will report upon it.

Carnot again draws attention to the terrorists and the fugitives from Vendôme, who, according to him, are hatching plots. The majority of the Directorate reply, "We can settle them after the Royalists; the latter have a prior claim upon our attention."

The Minister Scherer presents a report recommending that the crippled soldiers, who would be better off in their own homes with a pension, should cease to be inmates of the *Invalides*. Adjourned until the organization of the *Hôtel des Invalides* is definitely settled.

Menou is appointed Commandant of the 13th division; Boursier, Inspector of the Army of the Rhine; Felino, Inspector of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse. The latter appears to have been specially recommended by the deputies of Clichy. The deputy Larue, in a report, praises him very highly for having opposed the passage of the troops.

18th and 19th Thermidor, Year V.—Carnot and Barthélemy renew their proposal to inform Bonaparte that the Government censures the addresses of the Army of Italy; at the same time they demand that the message from the Council of Five Hundred relating to the order given to the troops to cross the constitutional boundary be immediately answered. Nothing will be done until we have the report of the Minister, and hear the conclusions arrived at by the commission of *Inspecteurs de la salle.*

The two commissions of *Inspecteurs de la salle* ask to be admitted to the Directorate. Murinais, their spokesman, says that the legislators are alarmed at what is taking place in Paris; that they approach the Government in order to impress upon it the importance that should be attached to the rumors of a speedy rising. The deputy Larue speaks to the same effect. Dumas adds that the legislators are not afraid, but that strange

rumors reach their ears daily. Soldiers, as well as anarchists from the provinces, are arriving in Páris. Lenormand complains of the extraordinary language used by the Army of Italy in airing its opinions. The President of the Directorate replies that the public peace does not seem to be in danger; that it is the alarms of the legislative body that have given rise to others; that the Government regards with regret the making of speeches that are calculated not only to pain, but to seriously affect the army. The commissioners withdraw.

On the 19th Carnot demands that a message be sent to Bonaparte concerning the addresses, and puts the question to the vote without discussion. The interviews and negotiations that have been going on between him and the *Inspecteurs de la salle* lead me to believe that he is acting in pursuance of some agreement come to with those gentlemen. Rewbell and Larevellière are angry at the false light in which the question has been placed before us. Carnot replies that if he is to be no longer permitted to speak, we have only to say so, and he will retire. It is decided that no reply is to be given until we have heard the reports.

21st Thermidor, Year V. — The deputy Jourdan (of the Bouches-du-Rhône) makes a long speech in the Council of Five Hundred, complaining of the action of the Directorate in proclaiming so many provincial communes in a state of siege. He gets a resolution passed depriving the Directorate of the exercise of what are called preventive measures. Aubry then proposes to take from us the power of dismissing civil and military officials. There is no safer way of discrediting and crushing the Directorate than by depriving it of all its means of action. The power of making appointments becomes an empty form if the nominating authority be deprived of the right of dismissal, the latter being absolutely indispensable as a preliminary to the former, and capable only of being properly exercised by those who have the wielding of both.

The foreigner seems to be kept well informed of our internal troubles, and never loses an opportunity of profiting by them. We hear from Brest that the English effected a landing at Berthaume, but that fortunately some Republican troops soon came up and compelled them to return to their ships.

Barthélemy and Carnot, who threatened us with their silence, have not kept their word; they are still trying to get us to reply

to the message, and to write to Bonaparte. It is again decided that we shall not do this until the report upon the documents has been presented to us.

General Augereau has just arrived in Paris, bringing with him the standards of the garrison of Mantua. He is introduced by the Minister of War. Augereau, coming to the point at once, declares without any prefatory remarks that the brave soldiers composing the Army of Italy will never suffer the Royalists to carry out a counter-revolution; that 12,000 men under his command are ready to march against them. Augereau having withdrawn, I propose, according to my agreement with Bonaparte, that he should be appointed Commandant of the 17th military division, and that General Hatry should be promoted to the rank of an infantry inspector. Rewbell and Larevellière vote in the affirmative, Barthélemy and Carnot in the negative. "This step," they say, "may cause alarm." Rewbell asks, "To whom—to the Royalists?" Carnot, in an article vindicating his conduct, declares that on General Augereau making his appearance, he cried out, "What a swaggering ruffian!" It is possible that Carnot may have said that to himself, but certainly not in such a way as to be heard by any of us, and still less by General Augereau. For I recollect very clearly that as I gazed upon the extraordinary height of the General, and upon those stern features that expressed so well his ability to carry out his threats, both Carnot and Barthélemy seemed to be in a state of absolute stupefaction. And Augereau's words were in thorough keeping with his rugged appearance. In firm, clear tones he said, "I am come to kill the Royalists." He showed me

a letter in which, thanking Bonaparte for his good opinion of him, he wrote: "Our honesty and our courage saved the Republic from the frightful abyss into which the agents of the throne and the altar would have dragged it."

Peace with Portugal is almost concluded, the only point still requiring settlement being the admission of four or six English war-ships into the large and small ports of that power.

Bonaparte sends some more addresses from the Army of Italy. Among them is one from the division commanded by Bernadotte, to which he had attached great importance, but which had been delayed by the indecision of the commander. As soon as Masséna, Augereau, and Joubert had given vent to their opinions, Bonaparte had immediately sent Bernadotte a copy of the addresses drawn up by his generous companions-in-arms. In order to explain Bernadotte's tardiness in this matter, certain historians have put into his mouth a reply (which he possibly believes he may have made at the time) to the effect that Bonaparte's action was an infraction of the Constitution and the law of order, and that he did not believe it was within the province of the Commander-in-Chief to give any directions in the matter. The same writers tell us that Bonaparte insisted on having an address, the absence of which, he said, would lead to a belief that there was some misunderstanding among the generals, and would undoubtedly be taken advantage of by the enemies of the Republic. Further, that Bernadotte thought it best to yield to these considerations, and that in order to reconcile his duty both towards the Commander-in-Chief and the Government, he drew up an address which he

sent, not to Bonaparte, but to the Directorate, and which contained the following passage: "If conspiracies have been formed for the purpose of laying sacrilegious hands upon the Government, which is the safeguard of the laws and the sentinel of the people, the same arms that fought for national independence, the same men who led the Republican columns, still exist. With such support, you have only to express the desire, and the enemies of the State and of liberty will disappear. . . ." As a matter of fact, Bernadotte did send us that address direct, thus trampling upon those customs of military hierarchy that he could on occasion so well defend; but he had probably also sent a copy to his Commander-in-Chief, and it was that which Bonaparte now forwarded to us.

It is very true that this address contained nothing like the strong language employed by the divisions of Masséna, Joubert, and Augereau, who outdid each other in hurling invectives and insults at the Royalists. It is also true that Bernadotte commences with a word expressive of doubt, and that in legal chicanery the *if* might leave him a loop-hole of escape in case of failure; but those who wish to assign such subtle reasons for Bernadotte's conduct at this period fail to perceive that they are making him play a diplomatic *rôle* that would be quite out of keeping with his conscience. They are more successful in their attempts to explain his political conduct, and vindicate the latter in a much better way when they say that Bernadotte had already then scented in Bonaparte the destroyer of the laws of the Republic, and was beginning to show him some opposition. But we have no proof of Bernadotte's opposition in support of this Republican principle attributed to

him. Bonaparte displayed great tact when, instead of betraying any suspicions he might have concerning Bernadotte, he affected to put great trust in him. Some time after he had sent Augereau to Paris, he despatches Bernadotte also to the capital to watch all the movements that are about to take place. Bernadotte's ostensible mission was to hand over to us six standards that had been inadvertently left behind at Peschiera, and two taken at the battle of Rivoli. "This excellent general," wrote Bonaparte in sending us Bernadotte, "who made his reputation on the Rhine, is now one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Army of Italy. I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without paying to his brave division, and to the officers and men who came from the Rhine and Sambre-et-Meuse, the tribute of praise that I owe their services. On every occasion they have carried all before them. You have in General Bernadotte one of the stanchest friends of the Republic, a soldier whose principles and nature alike render him incapable of dallying either with the enemies of liberty or with honor."

Bernadotte's first utterances on his arrival in Paris were as emphatic in their expression of his Republican sentiments as Bonaparte's phrases in testifying to them. He spoke only with enthusiasm of his "general-in-chief," and in terms full of admiration and devotion. He was careful not to show himself unworthy of the high opinion Bonaparte had expressed about him, and believing himself obliged to adopt a high tone of patriotism, he said he had found the Republican spirit grown much cooler. The counter-revolution, in his opinion, was making progress; the laws were without vigor; the *émigrés* were

returning, some of them acquitted by the courts, others not even charged. Indeed, he carried his opinions so far as to give Augereau cause for jealousy, surprised as the latter was at seeing some one put upon his heels in this sudden fashion. In the *naïve* conceit that soldiers frequently embellish with the name of candor, Augereau wrote: "Bonaparte has done himself much harm by his eulogies of Bernadotte and Sérurier. It was imprudent to send Bernadotte to Paris at the same time as Augereau," for this is the way in which the latter, in his exaltation, spoke of himself in the third person. It was after the manner of Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, but the immense importance of his deeds gave the Roman author the right of choosing the style of his narrative. "Bonaparte knows that it is only he in Italy and I in Paris who can save the country." This misunderstanding between two men whom Bonaparte wished to lead by playing the one off against the other, pleased him particularly—so much so, in fact, that in writing to Lavalette about Augereau, he said: "Augereau is a little heated, but he is devoted to the Commonweal, to the army, and, I think, to me." These were the days of Bonaparte's modesty, when he still put himself in the third place.

At the same time as Bonaparte informed us of the annexation of the Venetian Isles in the Adriatic, Ruffo, the Ambassador of Naples, came to propose to me the occupation of a part of the Papal States by the Neapolitan governor, and the overthrow of this colossus of fanaticism. I reply to M. de Ruffo that in my opinion it would be impossible for the Directorate to adopt or even consider the first part of his proposal, but that we could nevertheless join the Court of Naples in destroying the hot-bed of superstition. It is on these terms and under

such conditions only that a lasting union can even be thought of between a republic and kings.

22d Thermidor, Year V.—After having considered the report and the documents establishing the complaint of the legislative body concerning the army addresses and the movements of the troops in the provinces, the Directorate in reply indites a message to the Council of Five Hundred. Carnot and Barthélemy do not agree with all that it contains, their opinion differing from ours concerning the causes that led to the addresses of the Army of Italy. The internal dissensions that have called forth such indignation from the armies are considered by us as a cause, while they, on the contrary, would like to look upon them as an effect; it is therefore impossible to come to an understanding.

Bonaparte writes that he is still waiting for the reply from Vienna, as well as for the return of the French secretary sent to M. Thugut; a letter from M. de Gallo or Clarke announces that the Court of Vienna has taken exception to certain operations. The Austrian army has captured Ragusa. Bonaparte, already so disposed to take the initiative in all matters relating either to politics or to war, has, without the slightest authority or the least instructions, written to the Pope to put an end to the division existing in the Church in France; he trusts that His Holiness will, by a brief, enjoin submission and obedience to the Republican Government upon the constitutional and refractory priests, and exhort them to restore the ecclesiastical unity by ceasing to be divided among themselves.

The dominions of the King of Sardinia are in a state of great commotion.

The peace with Portugal is concluded; it was signed in the name of the Queen of Portugal by the Chevalier Davanzo Dazevedo.[1]

Correspondence brings us the details of fresh outrages committed in the South.

The *fête* of the 10th of August is celebrated at the Palace of the Luxembourg. Larevellière, President of the Directorate, delivers a speech in which he makes an indirect attack upon the legis-

[1] Antonio Avaujo de Azevedo, Count de Barca.—Translator's note.

lative body. We deliberate upon Bonaparte's reply concerning the rupture of the negotiations with Austria—a rupture which he deems inevitable if that power has not concluded a treaty of peace by the 1st of September. Carnot proposes to send the preliminary treaties of Leoben as an ultimatum. The majority of the Directorate desire the general to demand before all else the acceptance of those clauses which the Austrian plenipotentiary would place last. Carnot admits that the Treaty of Leoben was not worth much, but he insists upon its execution.

This treaty was forced upon us by the delay in crossing the Rhine, an operation which had been promised to Bonaparte several months before. The delay gave the enemy an opportunity of passing to the left of the Army of Italy, and placed its general in danger of being cut off. Carnot denies that Bonaparte was either cut off or outflanked; he lays all the blame of the treaty upon him, maintaining that he was not forced to accept it. Appealing to Rewbell and Larevellière, he exhorts them to put aside all other proposals, and to insist upon the carrying out of the Treaty of Leoben. It is scandalous to try and oppress the emperor; by doing so we prove that we are averse to peace and render ourselves guilty of a crime. Larevellière replies that he is sincerely desirous of peace, but that it must be an honorable one. Rewbell says to Carnot, "Do you want us to lose our heads by your intrigues with the anti-revolutionists of the legislative body?" Carnot repeats, "It is a capital crime." "If any one here is a criminal," retorts Rewbell, "it is you, Carnot; your resentment at having your

self-esteem slightly ruffled by a few Republican writers has turned you into an implacable enemy of the Republic. You have betrayed us; we should have deprived you of all power here; all the dissensions that agitate France can be traced to your influence. You have constantly protected the Royalists; you have smiled at the bloodshed caused by your agents in the South; you have directed the daggers against the Republicans, as you directed the working of the scaffold in the Committee of Public Safety; the enemy has not a more devoted advocate than you; but your power is crushed, for we shall defend the Republic. If any one should tremble, it is you—you, the persecutor of patriots. You are a soldier, you say: if you were, you would answer me—such matters as these are not to be passed over. Remember your state of agitation, or rather helplessness, when Jourdan endangered the safety of his army on the Rhine; remember how, when attacked by Fréron, you came and begged Barras to quiet him. If you had remained in power but a little longer upon the Committee of Public Safety, there is no doubt that every one of us here would have been sent to the scaffold. What passion was it that inspired you then? What passion still goads you on? Crime can no longer be so shameless as it was in 1793; we crushed it on the 9th Thermidor, and we are still as determined to maintain the victory. Is it the 9th Thermidor that is being attacked through us? Is it your colleagues Billaud, Collot, and Vadier whom you mourn without daring to confess it, and whom you wish to avenge?" Rewbell only repeated what I had said so often, and Carnot, rightly believing that his adver-

sary expressed the opinions of us all, could not separate us in his reply. He hung his head, and only turned occasionally towards Barthélemy, who himself avoided his glance and lent him no kind of support whatever. He begins to speak in a broken voice and with eyes still cast down. "Citizen Rewbell, citizen Larevellière, citizen Barras, I am by no means a cutthroat, and you do me an injustice in looking upon me as a bad man. I cannot say any more until I have left the Directorate." The sitting is at an end.

In giving an account of these unfortunate discussions of ours, in which I undoubtedly indicate too clearly the lengths to which my violence carried me, I must still confess how difficult it was for me to restrain myself from giving expression elsewhere than at our meetings to those feelings which outside events not only inspired but encouraged. Talleyrand was generally waiting for me when I left the meeting, which he did not always attend, and would ask me what had taken place. He would find an excuse even for my fits of anger in what he called my sensibility and my courage, saying that the latter was kept in bounds only by my generosity. Lavalette would also be found in my anteroom renewing in the name of his commander-in-chief all the offers of service and the support of his men, in case I had need of them. Everything was at my disposal, at my orders, at my feet. . . . How great will be my astonishment to learn at a later period what part, or what parts, Lavalette had been playing, and to see how anxious he will then be to claim the honor of having opposed the events that were about to take place.

In reviewing all the machinations that hedged us in and the wild schemes of all kinds showered upon us, it is worth noting here that before Bonaparte had sent us such conspicuous military representatives as Augereau and Bernadotte, he had already despatched and established in Paris secret agents who furnished him with an account of all that was being said and done in the capital. This agency had now been in existence for some time, and was conducted in accordance with Bonaparte's instinctive system of never bringing his men together, but of checking and controlling them one by another. His delegates were never in touch; he was their centre, and they could never communicate with each other nor meet. Several of them acted in a double capacity; that is to say, they served for two purposes, their duty being to carry the expression of different sentiments to different parties, in order to learn all that was going on in all parts, and to keep up communications for their master with every one. Lavalette was pointed out to me as being at the head of these agents of duplicity; he was then serving his apprenticeship in police diplomacy, and was training for those stirring times when he was to exercise his talents on a more extensive scale. The aide-de-camp Lavalette, who had at that time served in no more campaigns than he has since, had been debarred by his ignoble and mean extraction from enjoying any kind of education; he had, however, acquired some proficiency in deceit during the short ecclesiastical career to which the poverty of his parents had driven him. The Revolution had found him a petty sacristan of the parish of Saint Paul, where his parents kept a

kind of all-night dram-shop frequented by the poorer workmen of the quarter. The Revolution gave every one the right to don a soldier's coat. Lavalette thought that in this fresh disguise he would rise to fortune more rapidly than by retaining his miserable post in the clergy, especially when there were no more clergy. He slipped into the Army of Italy. Bonaparte recognized in this soldier an aptitude for servility that was a guarantee of his ability in matters of police: he destined him for that particular purpose. Lavalette was therefore a thoroughly confidential aide-de-camp; we know what latitude is permitted to the holder of such a post. As one man this agent was not sufficient, for he was required to keep in touch with five; he had to see us all separately, and in order to be received by five people he had to know how to make himself agreeable to and follow the bent of each particular one. Bonaparte had not been mistaken in his estimate of the resources that a chameleon of this kind afforded; but however great a knave such a diplomat may and would like to be, his *rôle* becomes more difficult when he has to deal with people who all express themselves in passionate and heated terms; he is then occasionally obliged to respond in a similar fashion. Now I have been told by several trustworthy persons who had met this equivocal individual at the houses of my colleagues, that the manners and speeches of Lavalette there were by no means the same as he affected when with me. As he went to Carnot's a good deal, he had of course to adopt a totally different style and mode of expression to persuade Carnot that it was with him and no other that his commander-in-chief

wished to go hand-in-hand; he brought him private letters from Bonaparte, and took charge of Carnot's letters for the latter. Each one of us, according to what he told us in private, enjoyed his unbounded confidence; but it was always bestowed upon that particular one to whom he was speaking. In spite of all the secrecy and deceit of Lavalette's behavior, we were not long in finding out that he was a thorough double-dealing agent. This was proved to us first by his duplicate, or rather his quintuple, correspondence, then by indiscretions, which, when compared with each other, left no doubt that we had to deal with an out-and-out scoundrel. In spite of all this complication of conduct I, however, fancied that, since Bonaparte was more decided in working with us, Lavalette, if he were indeed the agent of his master, would, according to all appearance and probability, be more thoroughly with us than with our adversaries. Later, when Bonaparte shall think proper to give the lie to the opinions he held and the acts he committed during the time I am now writing of, we shall see how and why Lavalette will in his turn think fit to recant, and to maintain that it was the three members of the Directorate—that is to say, the majority—whom he was opposing, and that he had always desired the success of Carnot. It is not my desire to discuss just now the posthumous system of a speculation which, though of later date, will always hold good—that of having more credit with the absolute power which will become the imperial one. That which I cannot conceal for the moment, and which is in its proper place here, is that M. Lavalette was already then distrusted by all the

members of the Directorate, not even excepting Carnot, who, in spite of his apparent nonchalance, told us at the time, and has since repeated, that "he had never seen this prying *Basile*,[1] this delegate of the Corsican general, enter his house without feeling a shudder of apprehension." Should it, moreover, be thought that the truth of the facts just stated may have been somewhat impaired by a feeling of resentment which Lavalette's conduct towards me might justify, an examination of the now well-known correspondence of this worthy would amply serve to establish his real character. I will take one of his letters to Bonaparte as an example. It was Bonaparte himself who gave me this letter on his return from Italy, wishing to prove to me how well informed he had been day by day of all our differences. He then blamed me for not having got rid of Carnot, often repeating with an inspired air the axiom borrowed from Barère: "It is only the dead that do not return."

On the 29th Thermidor Lavalette wrote to Bonaparte:

"This is word for word what Barras told me after dinner the day before yesterday:

"'At last I have torn aside the veil in the Directorate; it was on the question of the negotiations with Italy. Carnot contended that when Bonaparte signed the preliminaries he was in a sufficiently advantageous position to agree only to such conditions as he could afterwards fulfil. I defended Bonaparte. I said to Carnot, "You are nothing but a low villain; you have sold the Republic, and you want to cut the throats of its defenders. You vile scoundrel!" Then I got up: "There is not a louse on your body but has the right to spit in your face."

[1] *Basile*, the incarnation of religious hypocrisy in *Le Mariage de Figaro* and in *Le Barbier de Séville*.—Translator's note.

Carnot replied, with a troubled air, "I despise your provocations, but one day I shall answer them."'

"A young man attached to the person of Barras thinks the best thing to do will be to kill Carnot if he opposes ever so slightly the movement that is being set afoot."

Alas! I have already confessed, and more than once, how true it is that for too long a time past lamentable scenes have repeatedly taken place during the sittings of the Directorate, the debates becoming so heated as almost to resemble the combats of gladiators in the arena; but while I have not extenuated our faults in the slightest, I must say that they were as much exaggerated in Lavalette's correspondence as they were stirred up by his presence and incited by his cunning. The part played by even such a subordinate is not without some influence upon passions already so highly inflamed. Ours were the prey of this secret agent; he was exceedingly active in using the confidence he had stolen from us all to play off one against the other. The man whom Bonaparte had intrusted with the mission of pouring oil upon the flames, so to speak, had been remarkably well chosen.

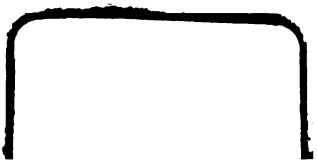
On the 28th it is decided to accept the Treaty of Leoben, but the General of the Army of Italy is to insist upon the proposals advantageous to Italy made by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

Rewbell, Larevellière, and I are informed that the two commissions of the *Inspecteurs de la salle* of the legislative body had an all-night sitting on the 28th. Although Paris is calm in appearance, a general uneasiness is perceptible. The private brawls that take place every day tell of an irritation that forebodes trouble; the young dandies in black stocks,

who would defy the soldiers parading the streets of Paris, receive some severe lessons. Parties are eying each other; the armies, with the exception of that of the Rhine, have boldly stated their views. Moreau, bound down by the influence of Carnot, has thought fit to preserve a prudent silence. He gives as his reason for doing so that "he does not know much about politics," just as if he did not know why he took up arms in 1789, and why he is at this moment in command of a Republican army! Those who wish to excuse this reserve in Moreau say that his conduct is in keeping with that moderation and that wisdom which he applies to the politics as well as to the wars of the Revolution. "Thus," they add, by way of analogy, "Moreau is of little use in aggressive warfare, but he is admirably fitted for operating a retreat." "I admit that, without wishing to condemn him," says General Hoche in his candid and witty way; "but I myself know little about retreat." Upon his return to the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse, Hoche organized a *fête* for the 10th of August. The following passage in the speech which he delivered at Wetzlar on the 10th in the presence of the whole army is worthy of notice: "Friends, I must not conceal from you that you are not yet to lay down these terrible arms with which you have so often fought your way to victory. Before doing so, we may perhaps have to secure for the provinces that tranquillity which fanatics and rebels are attempting to disturb. What a terrible mistake these perfidious enemies are making! Without a thought of you, they are endeavoring to lead France back to the slavery from which you freed it forever. Like the counsellors of Louis

XVI. before the 10th of August, they hope to give us masters again. Fanaticism, trickery, corruption, financial confusion, and the debasement of the Republican institutions and of the men who have rendered such great services—these are the arms which they employ to bring about a social dissolution which they will attribute to the force of circumstances. We shall oppose them with loyalty, courage, disinterestedness, and the love of virtues of which they do not know even the name, and they will be conquered. But I am certain that your presence and the steadfastness of the Government will suffice to maintain the Constitution, which I swear in common with you to uphold in all its purity." At a great meeting of those officers and men of the Army of Sambre-et-Meuse who had heard the speech of the general-in-chief, motions were unanimously passed condemning the Clichiens and the *émigrés*.

All the patriots, both in Paris and in the armies, are declaiming against the Royalists. Even the Invalides present an address to the Directorate couched in the same terms as those that came from Italy. We must take measures to strengthen our position with all these evidences of good-will by regulating them. General Augereau commands the 1st military division; General Verdière the garrison of Paris. Donmartin commands the artillery; while the post of the *École militaire* is assigned to Adjutant-General Guillet.

News from London which is brought to us by the Minister of Police announces that a rumor has been circulated in the clubs and in the Ministry pointing to the assassination of the Triumvirs as the only resource left to the Royalists.

NOV -5 1928